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EIGHTEENTH CENTURY NORTH INDIAN PAINTINGS

S. K. SARASWATI

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॥ त्वं च विष्णोः परमरुपमरुपाख्यमनूत्तमम् ॥

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Preface

The present monograph has grown out of a lecture in the Seminar on *Eighteenth Century India*, held in 1965 under the auspices of the Jadabpur University. It deals with the story of North Indian painting in its various ramifications in a period which is usually considered to be one of decay and disintegration of all artistic pursuits in the country. It is in the manner of a very brief review of eighteenth century North Indian painting and is primarily intended for the general reader. The object is to discuss the prevailing trends, more or less, in a narrative manner. Controversial matter has been avoided, as far as practicable, in order to maintain continuity of the narration. What is intended is to bring out the characteristic traits of each style or idiom.

Contrary to the usual belief, the author has tried to show that though Mughal court painting suffered an inevitable decline, the period was not entirely barren and that there were significant expressions of Indian pictorial art of much aesthetic and historic import. The Rajasthani and the Pahari schools, for instance, maintained each an abundant output and a few of the idioms or styles of these two schools are known to have reached stages of perfection hardly inferior to those of the best phases of Indian art.

For obvious reasons the number of illustrations has to be reduced to the minimum. It is not always possible to have

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original documents for purposes of reproduction and one has to depend on published copies. Plates Nos. I and III are from *Painting of India* by Douglas Barret and Basil Gray, pp. 113 and 157 ; No. II is from *Art of Mughal India* by Stuart Cary Welch, pl. 78 ; and No. IV is from a photograph kindly supplied by the authorities of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The author expresses his deep indebtedness to the authors and publishers of the above books for the use he has made of their publications. Courtesy is also due to the institutions who own the documents he has made use of.

The author is grateful to Messrs. Pilgrim Publishers, and especially to Mr. B. N. Das Gupta, for including the monograph in their publication schedule.

S. K. SARASWATI

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NORTH INDIAN PAINTING IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Sarasi Kumar Saraswati

Aurangzeb died in 1707. For nearly a century and a half the Mughals had dominated the Indian scene ; their empire had reached its highest extent during Aurangzeb's reign. Already signs of disintegration had become apparent and the collapse that was to follow was in a manner quick and rapid. The dissolution of the empire of the Grand Mughals meant also a general decline of all purposeful artistic pursuits in the country.

Under the aegis of the Mughals the two forms of art that reached their apogee were architecture and painting. The decorative scheme in Mughal architecture indicated also a high degree of plastic sense and skill. In the field of applied arts, that of textiles is known to have achieved significant artistic expressions. In all these forms of art a definite setback was more or less perceptible during the reign of the orthodox Aurangzeb. With the rapid dissolution of the empire after him the powerful traditions, particularly such as depended on courtly support, languished and gradually petered out.

Yet, the situation in the eighteenth century does not appear to be as bleak and dismal in so far as the art of

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painting is concerned. The earlier trends that managed to survive record, in not a few instances, fresh impulses and imports. Besides, certain localities, particularly in the north, are known to have developed new trends and styles.

Mughal painting was court painting pure and simple. The development of the school was closely associated with the personalities of its patrons. Its maturity was the result of the sympathetic attitude and intelligent guidance offered by the emperors themselves. Naturally therefore it began to lose ground with the accession to the throne in the mid-seventeenth century of Aurangzeb who with his puritan ideas appears only to have tolerated painters as recorders of official events. It has been argued that the school had reached its peak of perfection under Jahangir and Shah Jahan and altered conditions of the court apart it would have withered as a matter of course, there being hardly any scope for further achievements. The argument, no doubt, has a certain force ; but it is difficult to agree with it wholly. Mughal painting has been a creation of the Mughal court, reared and nurtured by the assiduous patronage and intelligent direction furnished by the emperors. The characteristics of the school at its best are well known. Judged at its best it holds an honourable position in the record of human cultural achievements. Unlike his predecessors, Aurangzeb was not only apathetic to the arts but also insensitive to quality. His attitude and temperament were, in a manner hence, inimical to further progress. His weak and effete

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successors lacked the character and personality of the emperors who brought the school into being and gave it its distinctive form and quality. They were hence incapable of giving a lead to the school to tread new paths and add to its lustre. Again, what little energy they possessed was spent in fighting the intrigues of the ambitious nobles in order to keep themselves on the throne of the empire the history of which is one of retreat and rapid disintegration. There was at least a semblance of the court till the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739, and then that too vanished. The invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali or of the Marathas were like flogging a dead horse. The Mughal school of painting declined not so much because it had already run its course, but because the circumstances that conditioned its being had disappeared.

The story of Mughal painting in the eighteenth century is hence one of gradual decay and ultimate extinction. Under Farrukhsiyar (1713-1718) and Muhammad Shah (1719-1748) painting seems to have a brief spell of courtly support. The courtiers of the fast dwindling empire appear also to have patronised the art to a certain extent. But the nature and degree of such support and patronage, and the cirsumstances and environments too, were not such as to lead to a rejuvenation of the moribund art. With the puppet emperors and their courtiers such support or patronage was more or less a pastime, a relief and relaxation from the onerous cares of the state that were daily mounting up. That there was no real or sincere interest is proved by the significant fact that

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Muhammad Shah gave away to Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur Akbar's illustrated copy of the Persion version of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Razmnama*, which was one of the priceless objects in the Mughal imperial Library. It is only a callous indifference on the part of the emperor towards the artistic treasures of his illustrious predecessors that may account for the parting with of such unique document. The tempo of the effete court with all its intrigues and licentiousness relegated the painters, more or less, to the position of hangers-on seeking to pamper to the pleasures and tastes of their patrons. Under such conditions no sincere art could thrive. The painters were commissioned to portray the court beauties of the day. The main themes selected for representation were the harem scenes, love episodes, drinking carouses, musical concerts, musical modes often having voluptuous imports, acrobatic feats and the like. Sensuousness and sentimentality, together with a romantic touch, were the keynotes of eighteenth century Mughal painting. This new tone tended to displace the masterly observation and acute feeling for detail that distinguished the seventeenth century works. Gradually, there was a loss of fineness and precision of drawing, strength and vivacity of composition, and balance and harmony of colour scheme. In course of time with debasement of form and increasing stylisation Mughal painting towards the end of the eighteenth century sank into a Bazar craft engaged in turning out miniatures on ivory in and around Delhi.

Till the middle of the eighteenth century the painters

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seem to have retained, to a certain extent, their skill in the execution of portraits. Portrait painting, it has to be noted, has been one of the greatest contributions of the seventeenth century Mughal school. In the first half of the eighteenth century the painters were, not unoften commissioned to prepare copies of the old works, including portraits, by the seventeenth century master painters, and it was this familiarity with the earlier technique and style which was possibly responsible for the retention of the delineative skill by the later artists. Indeed, such copies had been so faithfully done that at times it is difficult to distinguish between an earlier original and its later copy. The contemporary portraits by these artists also evince the same fundamental tone and spirit. This is, no doubt, a happy interlude to the above picture of decay and deterioration. Soon however portrait painting also degenerated into Bazar craft.

The indifferent and unsettled conditions at the capital brought about a dispersal of artists from the imperial ateliers and they scattered to different parts in search of patronage and support. It is possible that the Mughal governors maintained ateliers of their own in the provincial capitals. Before decline set in such provincial ateliers were not separated from the main stream and remained closely dependent on the works produced in the imperial ateliers. The scantiness of documents precludes, however, any definite statement in this regard. Nevertheless, it is significant to note that in the eighteenth century when the disintegrating forces led

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to the assertion of virtual independence by the provincial governors their capitals are found to have developed local styles which were in the ultimate analysis derived from the main stream. With the dimming of the lustre of the imperial court the artists, depending much on patronage, began deserting the decaying centre for the more congenial courts of there rising potentates, some of whom tried to rival the glory of the imperial court even in its most flourishing days. As Percy Brown says, 'the change of environment in each case led to a corresponding change in the style of their art,' each of an individual character and thus distinguished from the other. Mughal painting consequently lost its oneness and the word *qalam* came into use as a convenient tern to designate each one of these local styles. In the north four such *qalams*, offshoots of the Mughal school, have been recognised, namely Delhi, Patna, Murshidabad and Lucknow.

A standard book on Mughal painting usually ends with Aurangzeb. Very little study has been made of the later history of the school or of its offshoots, the local *qalams*, Most of the authentic documents have strayed outside India and lie scattered in various collections. An analysis of such documents, so indispensable for a detailed and critical study, has hardly been attempted. Pending this, only a general outline of the different *qalams* can be given.

The sketch, given above, of the Mughal school in its declining days holds true of what is known as the Delhi *qalam*,

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with this reservation that it lost touch with the court much earlier, and away from the court paintings of this *qalam* develop coarseness far ahead of those associated with the puppet Mughals. The products of the Patna *qalam* mostly belong to a period outside the scope of this discourse ; and though in a sense associated with the decadent Murshidabad *qalam*, the Patna *qalam* is more an Anglo-Indian style than Indian, far less Mughal. The Murshidabad *qalam* had a brief spell of flourish in about the mid-eighteenth century corresponding to the short period of prosperity enjoyed by the Bengal Nawabs, while the Lucknow *qalam* had also a transient glory in the second half of the century when this court excelled that of the Mughals in pomp and magnificence. Nearer to the best achievements of the Mughal school, the products of the Murshidabad *qalam* are found to have a certain refreshing vitality, quite different from the somewhat weak and sentimental works associated with the contemporary imperial court. The *qalam* began about 1720 with works produced in Mughal fashion, formal and rigid to a certain extent. Alivardi in his later years seems to have evinced some interest in painting and the interest of this forceful personality was responsible for a few works produced between 1750 and 1755, which, though in contemporary Mughal manner, have a certain freshness in respect of composition, in precise draughtsmanship, restrained colour scheme, delineation of action and mood and an individualistic treatment of the landscape. But soon the spell was over. The works produced during the brief reign of Siraj-ud-Daula retain these qualities, but after him the products were commonplace and sink into

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insignificance. This decadent Murshidabad trend lay at the root of what emerged as the Patna *qalam* under the tutelage of western mode and technique. The Lucknow *qalam* was more eclectic in character, and from the beginning was sentimental and sensuous in import. The thriving period of the *qalam* centered round the painter Mir Kalan Khan who lived about 1770 and produced some of the best miniatures of the style. Gradually, more or less garish productions became the fashion and disintegration was complete by the end of the eighteenth century.

A historian of Mughal painting has made the following apt observation : "The Mughal school of painting formed, as it were, the spinal column of the various schools of Indian miniature art. If the Mughal school of painting had not come into being, the Pahari and Rajasthani schools would not have emerged in the forms in which we find them." The Rajasthani painting has truly been recognised to be the sister of the Mughal. Both the schools emerged, cach in its distinctive form, at about the same period by assimilating and absorbing a number of trends and in a sense each may be described to be a synthetic tradition. The question of inter-relations between the two schools has often been discussed, but there is hardly any agreement in this regard. It is difficult to deny, however, that during the formative period the Mughal and the Rajasthani concepts were in a sort of balanced relationship. The elements of the former made their intrusion as much in the paintings of the Akbar period, as the Mughal

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elements did in the Rajasthani paintings, particularly of these states which were in subservient alliance to the emperor. It is only Mewar which tried to resist, as far as it could, the Mughal impact, in political as well as in cultural spheres. But it too had to succumb in the end. But whatever Mewar painting borrowed from the Mughal was soon adapted and acclimatised to its basic form and tradition. As one scholar observes, "the Mughal influence, not felt in any sense directly, for Mewar was not closely associated with the court, had refined the drawing, enriched the palette and in some respects simplified the design, but the core of the style remains Indian." Not so the styles of the other states. Most of them are found to be highly imbued with Mughal manners and flavour.

In spite of such interrelations, the two schools remain apart. The Mughal, preeminently a court art and concerned with court scenes including its diversions, have only a limited appeal and interest. Rajasthani painting, with subjects mostly from the legends and myths of religion, has also an appeal to and interest for the common man. Nurtured by a feudal artistocracy though, it reaches hence a wider section of the people. Further, its rugged vitality and naive simplicity stand in contrast to the subtle refinements of the Mughal school. Easily comprehended by the common man, Rajasthani painting naturally survived the terrible shock that extinguished the grand empire, and a few styles of the school had their supreme expressions in the eighteenth century.

Before we discuss the state of Rajasthani painting in the

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eighteenth century a little digression seems to be necessary. With the emergence of the Rajasthani school the new impulse led to wide-spread activities in the various states vieing with one another in the production of paintings. Of late, there has been a tendency to describe the products of each state as constituting a separate school with the result that in recent writings one comes by names of a number of schools of Rajasthani painting. This attitude fails to recognise the fact that Rajasthani painting is basically one, in its form, as well as in content and import. The divergences in minor details that one finds in the products of the different states hardly disturb the common character and cannot justify the claim of each to be regarded as a distinct school. A correct appraisal would be to describe the products of the various states under the general designation of Rajasthani school. The divergences recognised in the products of the different states are to be interpreted as constituting local styles, *qalams* if we may borrow the Mughal term, of the main school.

Decay and dessication started in the Mughal school in the second half of the seventeenth century, and by the first part of the eighteenth its dominating influence lessened considerably. Rajasthani painting was not slow to seize the advantage. It gradually became more and more assertive and succeeded, in course of time, in shedding off the subservience to the Mughal school. In a few of the styles it was dominant till the first quarter of the century, but weakened after that date. Till the middle of the century Mughal compositions are known to have

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been preferred and some scholars are inclined to recognise Mughal manner in the paintings of the *Rāgamāla* series. But by this time Rajasthan had infused the art with a new feeling and a rhythm of line and colour. There was also added a certain romantic import. At Jaipur and Bikaner which in the earlier phases, were most affected by the Mughal impact, a comparable progress was also noticeable. In this century protrait subjects were introduced in the Rajasthani school, evidently a take over from the Mughal. But such portraits were done in the Rajasthani manner, the plasticity of form and its relation to the background depending on linear and colour manipulations, true to the Indian tradition. Exuberantly done, with a rhythmical and lyrical quality, Rajasthani painting in the eighteenth century seems to glow with a new richness and vitality. The romantic flavour in the contemporary Mughal paintings, it has been suggested, was a derivation from the Rajasthani School.

Within the school a number of modes and varieties may be recognised, though all are imbued by the same spirit and tone. A few are found to have certain individual traits, and among these, the notable are those of Bundi, Kota and Kishengarh. The first two represent practically one movement, the second bifurcating from the first in a later phase due to political reasons. The existence of a Bundi style in the seventeenth century is well evidenced by the sumptuous painting in a manuscript of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and a number of *Rāgamālā* sets, now dispersed in various collections. The first series,

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executed about 1640, is characterised by a largeness and vigour of design and at the same time a tender feeling, particularly because of the treatment of the subtly modelled and sophisticated human types, especially of the women. The colour scheme, varied and at the same time rhythmically balanced in respect of the figure, their dresses and landscape with lush vegetation in the background, is extremely pleasing. All these qualities are accentuated in the *Rāgamālā* sets to be dated from 20 to 25 years later. The Bundi style begins in the seventeenth century with great promise and continues through the eighteenth, the distinctive characteristics, already established, remaining valid at least till the middle of the century. In the latter half the charm gradually fades away and a too generous use of gold and red and greenish yellow gives the works a sickly tone. Kota works of the period shares in the characteristics of the Bundi style. When it bifurcated, its most significant contribution is the treatment of the landscape almost in the European sense of the term. Along with *genre* themes, hunting, toilet and palace scenes were usually preferred by Bundi and Kota artists.

In the eighteenth century an individual style of significant interest flourished in the small state of Kishengarh. The style centres round Savant Singh who ascended the throne of Kishengarh in 1748 and his gifted artist Nihal Chand. A poet prince, who wrote verses in praise of Kṛishṇa under the name of Nagari Das, Savant Singh fell in love with a singer girl celebrated in his verses by the name of Bani-Thani or the

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bewitching lady of fashion, and it is presumed that the identification of these two passions of his life was responsible for the small but exquisite series of pictures painted at Kishengarh between the early years of his love for Bani-Thani and his abdication in 1757. Depending on the early eighteenth century Mughal technique and composition, the artist Nihal Chand created in these paintings a visual presentation of his patron's lyrical passion. Not satisfied with the conventional human types, he introduced new and ideally beautiful types for the divine lovers, and it has been suggested that the type of female beauty selected for Rādhā was based on the features of Bani-Thani herself. Ideal in conception, it has the feel of an individual experience. The slim and slender body with sharp features is characterised by long slanting eyes pursed up at the outer edges. Due to the Rajasthani convention a firm clear geometry underlies the composition and it is against this that the figures, architecture and vegetation are all placed in balanced relationship, the colour scheme rhythmically unifying the composition and lending to it a rare charm. Among the various modes and styles of eighteenth century Rajasthani painting, that of Kishengarh is perhaps the most significant.

Rajasthan painting in the eighteenth century had notable contributions to make, thus offering a happy relief to the sad and dismal state presented by contemporary Mughal painting.

Even more significant in the history of eighteenth century Indian painting is the emergence in the Punjab hills, *i.e.* the

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mountain region watered by the five rivers, of a number of styles of delicate charm and enchantingly lyrical quality. Collectively they are designated as the Pahari or 'Hill' school. Coomaraswamy describes the paintings of Rajasthan and those of the Punjab hills under the general appellation of Rajput, and this appellation is still by no means obsolete. Like Rajasthan, the Punjab Himalayas from the valley of the Indus to the springs of the Ganges were divided among numerous small principalities, each under its own hereditary ruler of Rajput extraction. These hill states came into contact with the Mughals and were in various terms of relationship with them. In this manner they came in contact with the artistic impulse engendered by the Mughal court, but it is not known whether such contact had any reaction on them. The earliest records of hill painting hail from Basholi, a tiny state lying between the Chenab and the Ravi. They date from the last decade of the seventeenth century. The themes of these are mostly drawn from the Krishna legend and a text (*Rasamañjari*) describing the emotional states of lovers. Portraits or court scenes are very rare in this style. All paintings are splendidly coloured, vigorously drawn and charged with emotion. A rugged strength and vitality characterise the composition. The question of the origin of the style, to be named Basholi after its principal centre, has been the subject of much discussion, and it is generally held that it was derived from a Rajasthani style, probably the early Mewar with which it has much in common, in composition, in draughtsmanship and in bold colour scheme. In the early works the drawing is found to be lacking in

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delicacy. Nevertheless, it does not represent a folk art, but a tradition handed down by professional painters working for a feudal aristocracy. In the early part of the eighteenth century, as evidenced in the paintings of a manuscript of the *Gītagovinda*, dated 1730, the style is considerably softened resulting from an increasing delicacy of the line. The bold colouring remains the same as before. In this manner the style continues till the middle of the century.

The state of Guler on the other side of the Ravi went further, drawing its inspiration from the Basholi style, and according to Archer played a decisive part in the development of the Pahari school in the eighteenth century. Basholi style was already on the way of shedding off its archaic mannerism and Guler artistis further accelerated the movement. Beginning from about 1720 the movement goes on uninterrupted for approximately half a century. Gradually the lines become more delicate and facile, the colour scheme acquired a subtle refinement with restrained and subdued tones, the architecture and landscape, no longer harsh or statesque, harmoniously, binding the composition as an organic whole. These refinements apart, the paintings of Guler evinces a lyrical quality together with a balanced expression of the different emotions and moods. Lines and colours are in rhythmic relationship, each complementing and supplementing the other. The above, no doubt, indicate great advances for which several factors seem to have been responsible. First to be mentioned is the economic prosperity of the region resulting from the

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diversion of trade routes to the hills due to the insecurity of the plains following the invasion Nadir Shah in 1739. Secondly, there is the persistent tradition of Mughal artists fleeing to Kangra. It is possible that the exodus of artists from the capital to the hills occured in consequence of the terrible disaster of 1739 and the ravages of Ahmad Shah Abdali a little later. Guler, the senior of the twin states of Guler and Kangra, may have thought it advisable, particularly at this time of artistic resurgence, to shelter a few artists from the capital. The rapid advance of Guler art since 1740 may support such a presumption. The Mughal artists might have been responsible, in no small a measure, for the excellence achieved within so short a period. A Mughal manner is recognisable in the later series of Guler art and it is at this point that Kangra takes over.

The most eminent of the styles of the Punjab hills, and also the last of the great Indian styles, is that of Kangra. There is no denying that Kangra art developed out of Guler. Kangra intensified all those qualities that characterised Guler art and further improves upon them, thereby leading the Pahari school to its supreme expression. Beginning about 1780, the style continued till the end of the nineteenth century with its distinctive qualities more or less in tact. The major period of its duration falls outside our scope. Nevertheless, its distinctive characteristics may be generally stated. In the perfection of drawing, in the subtle and organic relation between line and colour schemes, in a rythmical and lyrical quality, in the rendering of emotions and moods together with a fluid

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naturalism, in romantic charm and delicacy, the Kangra style constitutes an outstanding achievement in the history of Indian art. French correctly sums up its quality by describing it as a "glorious combination of Mughal line and Hindu spirit."

In this general and to some extent telescopic survey it has not been possible to refer to a number of modes and varieties which, not without significance though, are of minor and limited interest.

In the second half of the eighteenth century the fabulous income of the Company's officers attracted a large number of British artists to India and the paintings executed by them in India provide an interesting sideline to the eighteenth century Indian history. Among the British artists who came to India a few belonged to the top rank and their paintings, done in India, are by no means small. It is a paradox, however, that no new movement resulted from this contact with western modes and techniques. The reasons are not far to seek. The East and the West had definitely contrasting traditions of art and it is difficult to combine the two unless a mutual understanding is possible. The conditions prevailing in the eighteenth century were not suitable for any commingling of ideas and modes of two contrary traditions. The work of the British artists in India had no cultural content, at least in the eighteenth century, and is only of marginal importance.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

I. Emperor Shah Jahan hunting deer. Royal Library, Windsor Castle (U. K.).
13″ x 8·1/4″. Mughal School. Early eighteenth century.

(By courtesy of H. M. Queen Elizabeth II)

II. Emperor Muhammad Shah viewing a garden from a *tanjam*. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (U. S. A.)
15·1/8″ x 17·3/4″. Mughal school. Between 1730 and 1740.
(By courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

III. Krishna and Radha in a pavilion. Allahabad Museum.
9·1/8″ x 13·3/8″. Kishangarh style. Mid-eighteenth century.

(By courtesy of the Allahabad Museum)

IV. Hill chief with children. Indian Museum, Calcutta.
7·3/8″ x 10·1/2″. Guler style. c. 1760.
(By courtesy of the Indian Museum, Calcutta)

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PLATES

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I. Emperor Shah Jahan hunting deer. Royal Library, Windsor Castle (U. K.).
13″ x 8 1/4″. Mughal School. Early eighteenth century.

This comes from a sumptuously illustrated manuscript of the *Shah Jahan-Nama*, now in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle. It was completed in 1657 and had been 'improved' upon by the addition of further paintings in the eighteenth century. The present miniature is one such addition made during the reign of Bahadur Shah (1707-1712). That a revival of Mughal court painting was not beyond the range of possibility, even after the neglect of Aurangzeb, may be inferred from this addition which, in its skilful and meticulous finish, penetrating study of the figures and romantic treatment of the landscape, may be described to be eminently successful in recapturing the tone and spirit of the past achievements.

(By courtesy of H. M. Queen Elizabeth II)

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PLATE I

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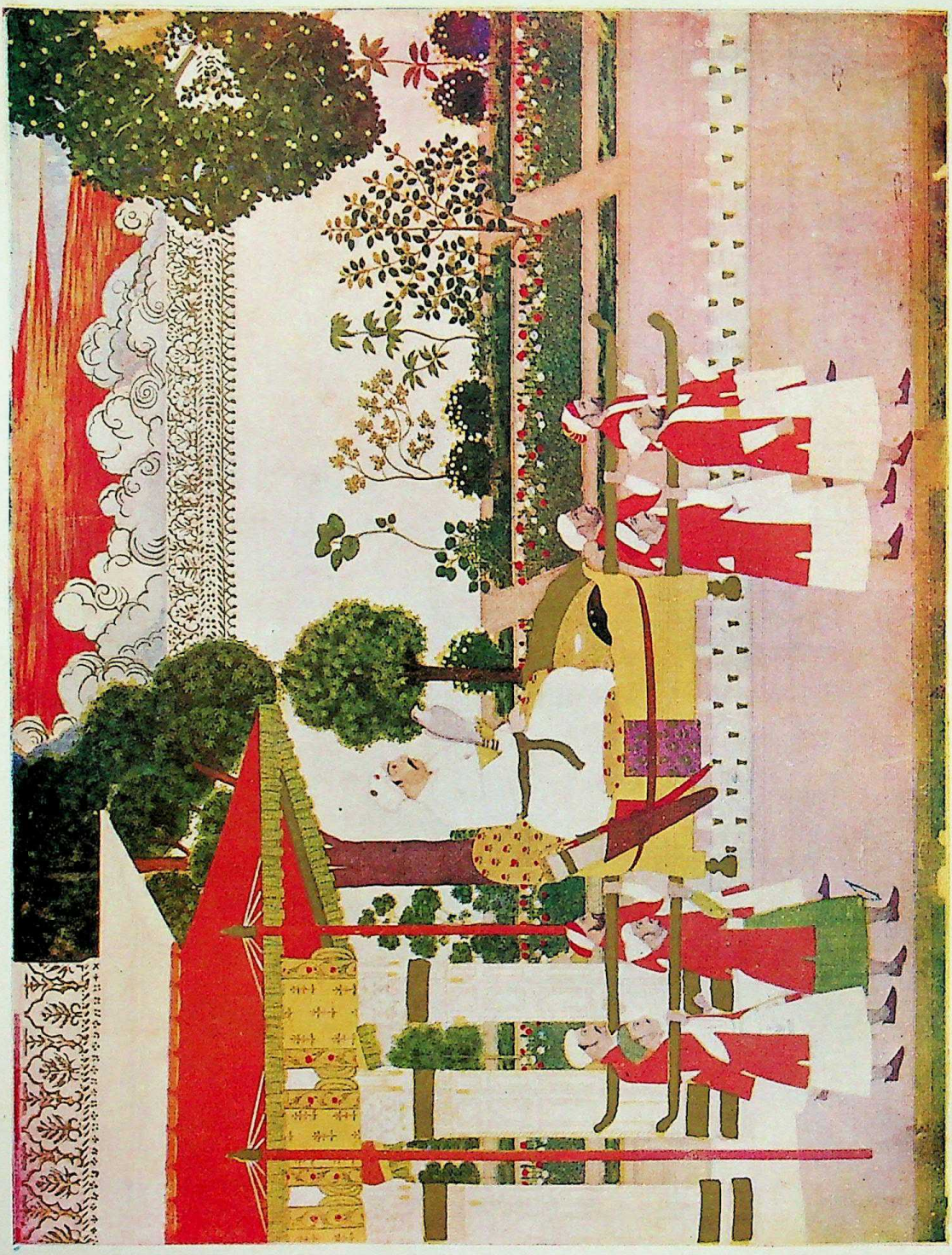
PLATE II



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II. Emperor Muhammad Shah viewing a garden from a *tanjam*. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (U. S. A.). 15·1/8″x 17·3/4″. Mughal School. Between 1730 and 1740.

The preceding painting seems to have implied a healthy and lively interest on the part of the court for a revival of the traditions of the Mughal school. But this interest apparently waned during the regime of the 'puppet' emperors when the temper of the court itself degenerated into one of weakness, intrigues and wanton profligacy. Nevertheless, up to the time of Muhammad Shah the style remained alive, but in a frozen state. In the present miniature one recognises still the meticulous drawing and perfect finish ; but the characteristic enamel-like glow which seems to have imparted such distinctive charm and romantic atmosphere to the best products of the school seems to have disappeared with the thinning down of the colour treatment. The invasion of Nadir Shah was followed by rapid degeneration and the other presages of decline, like weakness in drawing, coarser treatment, coagulation of colour tone, etc, were soon to appear and to lead the school to inevitable disintegration.

(By courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

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III. Krishna and Radha in a pavilion. Allahabad Museum 9.1/8″ x 13.3/8″. Kishangarh style. Mid-eighteenth century.

Among the various styles of Eighteenth century Rajasthani painting, that of Kishangarh was the most distinctive. It was the creation of a master artist who had his training in Delhi, and the style, though imbibing certain late Mughal manner, is distinguished by its own idiom, allied to the Rajasthani genre no doubt, but having an individual mode of expression. The idealised human type, with slender features, long and narrow uptilted eye, boldly arched eyebrow and receding forehead, seems to have a feeling of individual experience and may have been based, as has been observed, on the features of Bani-Thani, the mistress of his patron. The firm and clear geometry of the Rajasthani school forms the mainstay of the composition. Even more distinctive is the superb sense of grouping the designs to scale. The present miniature with its rhythm and idyllic charm illustrates these characteristics in the most convincing manner. After Nihal Chand, the creator of the school, deterioration set in and the end was not long to come.

(By courtesy of the Allahabad Museum)

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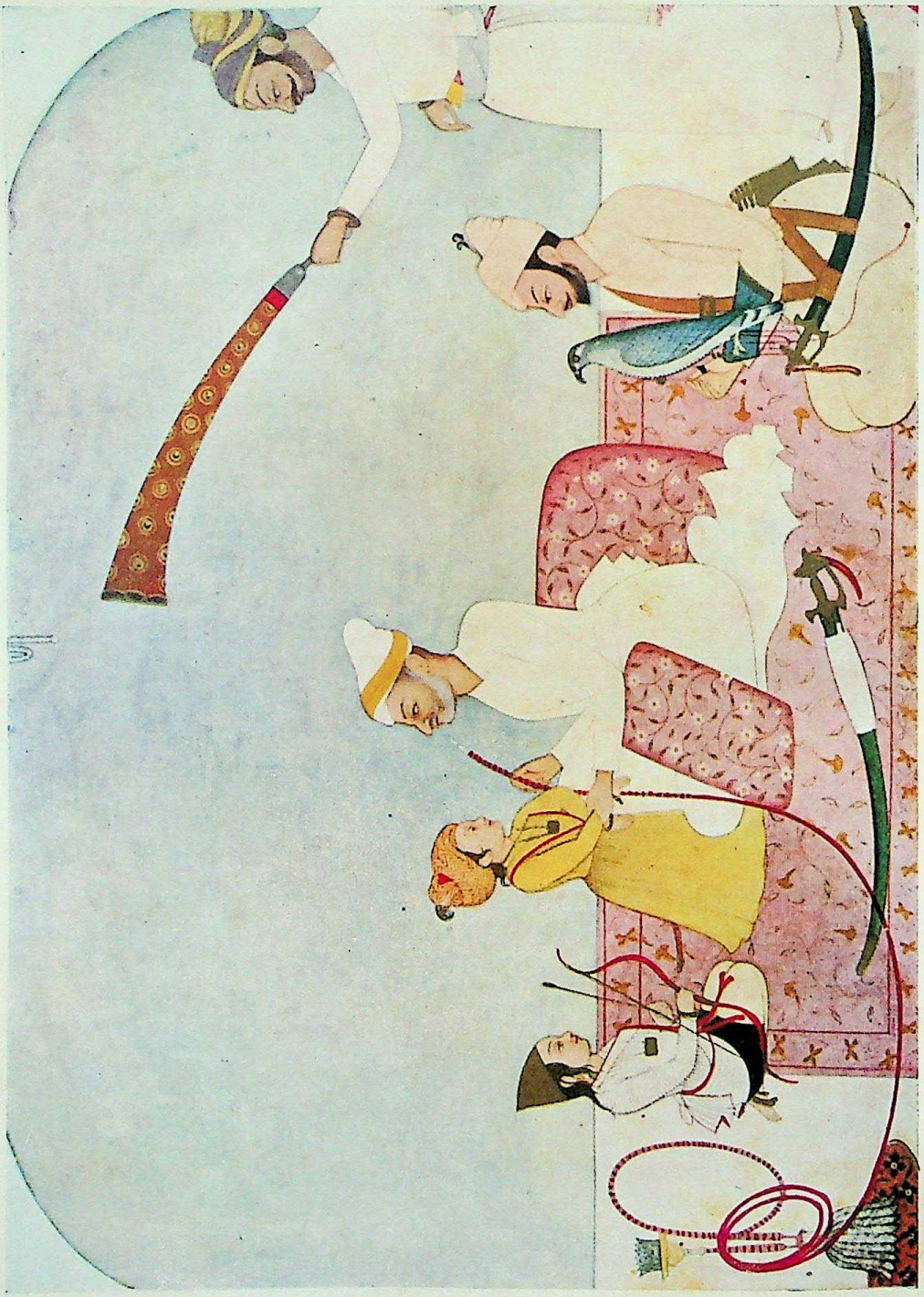
PLATE IV



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IV. Hill chief with children. Indian Museum, Calcutta. 7.3/8″ x 10.1/2″. Guler style. c. 1760.

The emergence of the Pahari school of painting in its various ramifications is a signal event in the history of Indian pictorial art. Among the ramifications, the Guler style occupies a prominent position. The small states of the Punjab hills, on account of geographical proximity and political circumstances, had important links with one another and the styles that emerged in different localities were, in a sense, allied. The Pahari school emerged in the late seventeenth century with the virile idiom of Basholi, more or less, in a primitive folk manner. In the eighteenth century the rugged quality of the Basholi idiom becomes softened ; the artists of Jammu and Guler, perhaps due to an impact of the Mughal trend, achieved further refinement. The Guler artists especially transformed the earlier idiom into a new and elegant style of extreme delicacy. With finer and more precise drawing, softer colours in the manner of the Mughal pallette, clear sense of grouping and an attempt at individual characterisation of each face, the style reaches a high standard of perfection. The present miniature depicts an interior scene in which the above qualities are fully valid. In outdoor scenes, along with these, the landscape is treated in a romantic manner adding exquisite charm to the entire composition. The Kangra style inherits these characteristics and leads the idiom to further achievements.

(By courtesy of the Indian Museum, Calcutta)

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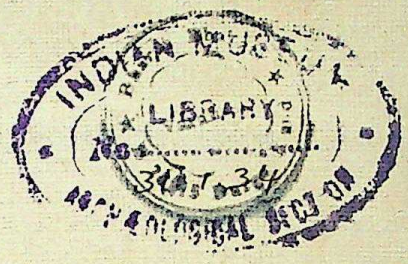

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II A new specimen of Bengal Sculpture
III A tour in Dinajpur and Rangpur
IV The Vishnava Cult

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ERRATA

Page 1, *for* the last two lines of footnote *read* :—

1666 A.D. Extracts published in Pares Chandra Banerji's *Banglar Puravritta.*

(d) The *Satyanarayan* song of Ayodhyarama composed 1726 A.D. Unpublished MS. with Sasibhusan Pathak of Dakshin-Barasat 24-Parganas Dist.

For extracts see pp. 15-17.

Page 14, I. 8, *after* the second bracket *add* :—and his Nalanda grant (V.R.S. *Monographs* No. 1, p. 26)

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NOTE

It was originally intended to append these four articles to our Annual Report for the year 1929-30. But, as they are considered to be of permanent value, they are published as our Monograph No. 4, in which form they will be readily available to the public.

The Society acknowledges with gratitude that Rai Bahadur Surendra Nath Bhaduri of Gwalior has generously contributed the entire cost of this publication.

Varendra Research Society,
July, 1930.

BIJAYNATH SARKAR,
Hon. Secretary.

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I

Antiquities of North-west Sundarban

By Kalidas Dutt, Majilpur, 24-Parganas District.

In my account of the antiquities of Khari (Appendix I, *Annual Report* of the Varendra Research Society, 1928-29) I have noted how in the course of the reclamation work which is going on in the 'Sundarban' or southern part of the 24-Parganas District, since the eighties of the 18th century, many remains of antiquity have come to light, including two copper-plate grants of king Lakshmanasena (12th Century A.D.). These clearly prove that much of the Sundarban was inhabited and in a flourishing condition in those days being traversed by the main course of the Ganges which ran southwards from Calcutta past Kalighat, Baruipur, Jaynagar, Chhatrabhog and then flowed through many winding channels into the sea. It appears from contemporary Bengali poems[1] that this condition continued till the 16th or even the 17th Century. From the scanty mention of riverside villages below Chhatrabhog in all these poems (with the mention, in one of them, of the existence of wild animals and pirates) and the extent of the parganas as recorded in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (1582 A.D.) we may take the present 'Sundarban Embankment' which cuts through the south-east part of Mathurapur *thana* as marking practically the limit of the populated part in the 16th Century. South and east of this we may distinguish the new settlement by their bearing Plot or Lot number, the names attached to a few of them being of recent origin (see Map). But even in these new settlements down to the Sagar Island in the extreme south-west, antiquarian remains are being found proving that they too were inhabited in the olden days.

The Ganges and the Sundarban

The present Hugli river from Sankrail downwards is said to flow in the channel of the old Saraswati (which branched off the Ganges at Tribeni) and it has none of the sacredness of the Ganges. It is not known when exactly

[1]. (*a*) The *Chaitanya-Bhagvat* of Vrindavandas born at Navadwip, 1507 A.D. A temple built by him exists at Denur, P. S. Mantesvar Dist. Burdwan (Dinas Chandra Sen, *Bangabhasa O Sahitya*, 2nd edition p. 319). In this article Atul-krishna Gosvami's edition of *C-B.* is referred to.

(*b*) The *Chandi* of Kavi-Kankan Mukandarama born at Damunya on the Ratnanu river, in Silimabad pargana of Burdwan Dist., composed the poem in 1577 A.D. at Arara in Ghatal sub-division, Midnapur Dist (*B. O. Sahitya*, p. 398). The Indian Press edition is referred to.

(*c*) The *Rayamangal* of Krishnarama of Nimta, near Belgharia, 24 Parg. Dist. (*B. O. Sahitya* p. 557) born 1666 A.D.; unpublished MS. with Babu Sasibhusan Pathak of Dakshin-Barasat, 24-Pargs. Dist.

Extracts from these works are appended, pp. 15-17.

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the Ganges left its southward course below Calcutta and turned westwards to join the Saraswati at Sankrail and form the Hugli. This was probably after the 16th century as the *Ain-i-Akbari* speaks of the Ganges and Saraswati as flowing separately into the sea,[2] although the Calcutta-Sankrail channel appears on De Barros' map (1540). There is a significant provision about the dead Ganges in Raghunandan (15th century) (*Prayaschittatattva, Gangamahatyam* Serampur, 1834 Ed. I, p. 299) :—

प्रवाहमध्ये विच्छेदे तु अन्तःसलिलप्रवाहित्वान्न दोषः अन्यथा इदानिं गङ्गाया सागर-गामित्वानुपपत्तेः ।

The Hindus still hold the dead or Adi Ganga from Kalighat downwards as sacred, burning their dead on its banks and using the water of tanks dug in it as Ganges water. According to some[3] this diversion was caused in Nawab Alivardi Khan's time (1740-1756) by the British merchants widening the channel from Calcutta to Sankrail to facilitate navigation.

It appears that at the time of Yuan Chwang's visit (7th century) the Sundarban tract was included in Samatata, while the territory west of it was called Tamralipti which, according to the *Desavali-vivriti* of Jagamohan Pandit (1648 A.D.) extended eastwards up to the Ganges (*vide* H. P. Sastri's address, *Narayana*, Bhadra, 1324 B.S.). From the inscriptions of the Senas (12th century) we find that the Sundarban was included in two of their *bhuktis*, the area east of the old course of the Ganges in Paundravardhana *bhukti* and that west of the river in Vardhamana *bhukti*, through respective *mandalas* and *chaturakas*.

Under the Pathan Sultans who succeeded the Senas, the tract was administered from Satgaon.[4] Under the Mughals from Akbar onwards the whole of the settled part was included in Sarkar Satgaon, and divided according to Todarmal's settlement (1582), modified during Sultan Shuja's regency (1658),

[2] 'Near the place Kazihata, in *sarkar* Barbakabad, the Ganges divides into two parts,—one goes east-wards, and flows into the ocean near Chatgaon, and in this separation the stream is called Padmavati ; the other goes southwards, and divides again into three parts, one being called the Saraswati, the other the Jon (or Jamuna) the third Ganga. The three are called in Hindi, Tribeni, and are held in veneration. The third (*i.e.*, the Ganga, the modern Hugli) becomes, near Satgaon, a thousand channels, and then joins, the sea. The Saraswati and the Jamuna also flow into the ocean'. On De Barros' map of Bengal (A.D. 1540), the Saraswati and Jamuna are still marked as large branches ; on Vanden Broucke's map (1660), the Jamuna is marked as a small *khal*, but the Sarasati is still prominently drawn as a large offshoot. *Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal* Vol. I, p.361.

[3]. *e.g.* the late Sures Chandra Dutt of Usti *vide* his paper on the Geology of Bengal in the *Proceedings of* the Bangiya Sahitya Sanmilan, Eighth session, Burdwan.

[4]. In the early period of the Muhammadan rule Satgaon was the seat of the Governors of Lower Bengal and a mint town. Its first Governor was Izzuddin, in 1325 A.D. Other residences of Governors were Deokot in Dinajpur, Lakhanati and Sonargaon. These towns lay all near the frontiers of Bengal—Deokot in the north, to keep the rebellious Rajas and aborigines in check Sonargaon protected the eastern frontier, Lakhnati faced the Delhi empire ; and Sataon was near the frontier of Orissa. (Hunter Vol. I, p. 361).

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into a number of parganas[5] of which Muragachha is mentioned in a land grant of Aurangzeb preserved at Majilpur. These parganas continue to the present time.

In my previous paper I have given some account of the antiquities in Khari[6] and the neighbouring villages in the Eastern or Paundravardhana section of the Sundarban ; in the present one I propose to deal with those in the northern half of the western or Vardhamana section, the Mouths of the Ganges and the Sagar Island.

Govindapur

I begin with Govindapur, a village in Sonarpur P. S., some 15 miles south of Calcutta and 2 miles north-west of Baruipur Rly. Station. Here in 1923 was discovered a copper-plate by which king Lakshamanasena (12th Century, A.D.) granted the village of Viddara-sasana in the Betadda *chaturaka* of Paschima-Khatika of Vardhamana *bhukti*. Many of the places mentioned in the grant can be identified, for instance, Viddara-sasana is present Sasan, 3 miles south-east of Govindapur, as the Ganges is said to have formed half its eastern boundary. (*Inscriptions of Bengal* III, p. 97). Dhamnagar north of Sasan is probably the Dharmanagara of the inscription. Betadda, the head-quarters of the *chaturaka* is identified with Betor near Sibpur, opposite Calcutta (R. D. Banerjee, *Bangalar Itihas*, I, p. 335). It was a place of importance even in the 16th century as it is one of the few places marked on De Barros' map, and is mentioned by Kavi-kankan, see p. 16.

At Govindapur on the east bank of an old tank called *Hedopukur* there is a brick mound in which several ornamental bricks have been found. Some of these are with me. About a mile south is the village of **Beral-Baikuntapur** where there are remnants of an old fortress, and further south is **Kalyanpur**

[5] The principal paraganas were (Hunter I, p. 228-240)

(*a*) Penchakuli (p. 239) in the north contains Falta.

(*b*) Muragachha (p. 237) south of (*a*) contains Diamond Harbour Kalagachha, Sarisa, Hatugunj etc.

(*c*) Baridhati (p. 228) east of (*b*) contains Baruipur, Vishnupur, Magrahat, Jayanagar, Mathurapur. The pargana of Shahnagar is between (*b*) and (*c*).

(*d*) Maidanmal (p. 236) east of (*c*) round railway line to Port Canning ; contains Basra Malang, Ramnagar and Karimabad.

(*e*) Hatiagarh, north (p. 232) south of (*c*) and east of (*b*) contains Chandpur, Jagadispur, Kasinagar, Barasi, Nalua.

(*f*) Hatiagarh, South p. 232) the most southerly pargana contain Belpukharia, Lakshmipur, Banstala, Gangadharpur and Kalicharanpur.

(*g*) Shahpur (p. 240) between (*e*) and (*f*) contains Krishnarampur Lakshmikantapur and Lakshmi Narayanpur.

(*h*) Mayda (p 237) north east of (*c*) contains Mayda, Bantra and Shahzadpur.

(*i*) Khari (p. 235) South east of (*e*).

[6]. In p. 4 of that account, I regret, Baribhanga (Lot 23) which is south west of Khari is wrongly stated as north of it.

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where amidst the ruins of an old temple is a Siva-lingam referred to in the *Rayamangal* as Kalyan-Madhava, see p. 17.

Mainagar

About a mile north-east of Govindapur is the village of Mainagar mentioned by Kavi-kankan, see p. 16.

It is claimed as their original seat by a large section of Dakshin Rarhi Kayasthas known as Mahinagar Basus.[7] Rajpur and Malancha close to Mainagar are noted centres of the Basu Kayasthas.

Kuldia

Some 5 miles south-west of Baruipur, in P. S. Magrahat is Kuldia, where a fine Surya image of black stone recovered from a tank and a sand stone plaque of Nrisimha have been collected by me.

The Surya image (Fig. 1) is 1′ 10″ high and 1′ wide and shews Surya standing with a lotus in either of his two hands. His charioteer Aruna is seated between his legs and his two attendants, Danda, carrying a sword and Pingala, a bearded figure holding an ink-pot and pen in his hands stand on either side. A freize at the bottom of the sculpture shows Surya's seven horses, with two female archers dispelling darkness with their arrows, on both sides. Two features of this image deserve special notice *viz.*, the temple above Surya's head representing probably his car, and the *vanamala* hanging across his knees. So far as I know, the former feature occurs in only one more image, *viz.*, No. 222 (from Baria, Rajshahi Dist.) in the V. R. S. Museum. and the latter in one other image, *viz.*, that from Kotalipara, Faridpur Dist. in the Sahitya Parisad Museum, Calcutta (*Handbook of Sculptures* Pl. XVII). The Nrisimha plaque (Fig. 2) measures 15″×14″×2½″ and being made of stone is a rare specimen.

Dakshin-Barasat

Some 7 miles south of Kuldia and 3 miles south of Suryapur or Nachangachha we come to Dakshin-Barasat now a Railway Station, P. S. Jaynagar. It is

[7] One of them Mr. Nagendra Nath Basu (editor of the *Visvakosa*) says that the village derives its name from Mahipati Basu who held high office under the Pathan Sultans of Gaur with the title of Subuddhi Khan. Three of his grandsons, Gopinath, Govinda and Vallabh also held high offices under Sultan Hussain Shah of Gaur (1493-1518) with the titles respectively of Purandar Khan, Gandharva Khan and Sundarbar Khan. The first of these was Hussain Shah's revenue minister and admiral of the fleet of which Mahinagar, then in easy communication with Gaur by water, was the base. The second one received a village in free-hold which is identified with Govindapur named after him. (*Kayastha Patrika*, Jaistha, 1335 B.S.)

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mentioned by Kavikankan and must have been of considerable importance in olden days for just across the river in the village of Sarisadaha a carved monolithic pillar and several fine stone images have been found, such as Vishnu, Nrisimha, a rare Vishnu-chakra (*vide* 'Antiquities of Khari,' p. 12). Barasat is noted at present for its Sivalingam called Adimahesh referred to in the *Rayamangal* as Sadananda and by Ayodhyarama as Anadi-Mahesh though omitted by Kavi-kankan. The present temple is a modern structure but the Lingam must be fairly old as it stands in a pool of water some 10 feet below the level of the surrounding ground. In the Sena-para of Barasat there is a stone image of Parsvanath, the 23rd Tirthankara (Fig. 3) about 3 feet high recovered some years ago in digging a ditch. It appears to be considerably old as it is much weathered and may be compared with the Parsvanath from Raidighi, p. 5, 'Antiquities of Khari'. The Tirthankara is represented as standing naked with a many-hooded snake-head over his head. On either side of him there are four snakes rising from his arm and lower down an attendant, who is indistinct. The pedestal is plain. A unique feature is a *Vanamala* hanging across the knees.

Baharu and Mayda

Some 2 miles south of Dakshin-Barasat is Baharu, now a Railway station. It is referred to as 'Baru-kshetra' in the *Rayamangal*. Recently a Surya image of black stone about 2 feet high has been found here and is being worshipped as Panchanana by a section of the people.

It is said however that formerly Baharu was a small place, a collection of fishermen's huts, while Mayda near it on the east side of the Ganges was a town of importance being the head-quarters of a revenue pargana as noted before and a port of the Portugese (Sivanath Sastri's *Atmacharita*, p. 1). People are said to have migrated across the river in 1154 B.S. (1748 A.D.) owing to river erosion on the Mayda side. A stone image of dancing Ganes 1½ ft. high (Fig. 4) has been presented to me by Babu Gaur Mohan Banerjee of Mayda. It was found by one of his men in digging a ditch some years ago.

Jayanagar

This village appears to have come into prominence in the 17th Century for it is first mentioned in the *Rayamangal* while Kavi-kankan omits it.

It has a local epithet of Palābari, which according to Mr. Nagendra Nath Basu is a corruption of Pravāla-dwipa (*Bangar Jatiya Itihas*, Rajanya-Kanda, I, p. 351) Jayanagar derives its name from an image of Jaya-chandi which is said

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to have been set up about 300 years ago. A more popular shrine now-a-days is the temple of Radha-Vallabha which contains two wooden images of Radha and Krishna 3 ft. and 4 ft. high respectively. These images are said to have been brought from Khari and set up by Pratapaditya of Jessore, (1582-1611) (*Govt. list of ancient Monuments in Bengal*, p. 51).

In a garden, north of the temple, a fine black stone image of Vishnu 2½ ft. high, now with Babu Gopal Chandra Sarkar, was dug out and in clearing the tank of the temple a stone 'gargoyle' was found which is placed on a Gauripatta in the veranda of the temple and worshipped as a Lingam.

One of the tanks in the dry channel of the Ganges here is called Mitra-Ganga after the Mitra family of zamindars whose houses and Siva temples stand on its west bank. The oldest of these temples is known, from a brick inscription on its face, to have been built in 1683 Saka or 1761 A.D. An interesting feature of it is a freize of miniature temples with *sikharas* and a Siva lingam in each, over the entrance. Two other temples are dated 1771 and 1777 Saka respectively. On one of these there were some erotic figures in moulded bricks as referred to by Hunter in his *Statistical Account of Bengal* 1, p. 88. South of Jayanagar is **Vishnupur** referred to in the *Rayamangal*, see p. 17.

The Muragachha grant

In the village of **Majilpur** adjoining Jayanagar, there is a *sanad* of Emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707) dated 1071 H. or 1661 A.D. with Babu Amrita Lal Chakravarti. It purports to be the renewal of a previous *sanad* by which 25 bighas of land in pargana Muragachha were conferred as a *Brahmottar* on Ratnesvar Chakravarti. As noted before, Muragachha is the pargana in which Diamond Harbour is situated.

Ramnathpur or Mandirbazar

Some 8 miles west of Jayanagar is Ramnathpur, P. S. Kulpi, known as Mandirbazar on account of its Siva temple about 100 ft. high—an impressive structure, though much damaged by age and neglect. (Fig. 5). It is called Kesavesvar after its builder. It faces west and is oblong in plan, consisting of a cell in the centre with a wide corridor on three sides. The walls of the cell are carried above the roof of the corridors and are surmounted by an arched roof and *sikhara*. The corridors are roofed over with single arches which are very striking. The face of the temple is ornamented with moulded bricks set in various designs, *e.g.* Vishnu, Mahisha-mardini etc. There are three brick

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inscriptions in Bengali script of the same import at three places of the face. The middle one is nearly obliterated ; the side ones read :—

आकाशाब्धिरसचौणीमिते शके शिवालयं । सुद श्रीकेशवोकार्षिद्वासुदेवेन शिल्पिना ॥

"Kesava got this Siva temple built in 1670 Saka year (1748 A.D.) by the architect Vasudeva." There is a great gathering of pilgrims at Siva-ratri time, end of February (*Gazetteer* of 24-Paraganas p. 78).

One mile east of Mandirbazar, in the *Haurir hat* of Jagadispur, P. S. Kulpi, there are two Siva temples about 50 ft. high of one design (Fig. 6). They are said to be older than the one at Mandirbazar and have *sikharas* of a different pattern, rather resembling that of the Jagannath temple at Serampur or the Vaidyanath temple at Deoghar. Both the temples are much decayed. Each has a door still consisting of a single block of carved black stone, and a lingam about 4 ft. high.

Netra

About 6 miles north-west of Jagadispur is Netra, a Railway station, P. S. Diamond Harbour from which I have recently obtained a Uma-Mahesvara image of black stone, Fig. 7, discovered some years ago. It measures 2′×1′ 3″ and represents Uma seated on the left thigh of Mahesh, who is caressing her, both being seated on a *padmasana*, with one foot resting on their respective *vahanas*, bull and lion, carved below. Mahesh has four arms with two of which he holds Uma while the other two carry a *nilotpala* and a trident. Uma has two arms ; the right one clasps Mahesh and the left one holds a mirror. Both the figures wear ornaments, but are crowned with *jatamukutas*. The back slab is plain except for two Gandharvas carrying garlands.

Mathurapur

Some six miles south of Jayanagar is Mathurapur, a Police Station. Some time ago several sculptures were unearthed here in digging out a tank. Of these, a mutilated Buddha image in *bhumi-sparsamudra* is lying on the village altar and a fragment of a Surya image is with me. Mathurapur is surrounded by archæological remains, of which those at Khari, Bakultala and other places east of the Adi-Ganga are described in my previous article.

Ghatesvar

About two miles south-west of Mathurapur is Ghatesvar, named after its Siva lingam. In excavating a tank some 40 years ago, 3 Jaina images and a stone

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sculpture were unearthed. Two of the Jaina images are lost, one being thrown by Babu Karalimohan Chaudhuri into a tank and the other taken away probably to Calcutta. The remaining Jaina image and the sculpture are with me. The latter (Fig. 8) is of fine grained sandstone and measures 13″ × 6″ × 5″ deep and bears a human figure which is unidentified. The Jaina image which is that of Adinath (Fig. 9) is described along with a Parsvanath image from Raidighi and a miniature Naminath from Patharpratima on p. 5 of 'Antiquities of Khari.' Three more Jaina images have recently been discovered *viz.*, one at Dakshin-Barasat one at Kantabenia and the third in Sagar Island.

The occurrence of so many Jaina images indicate the prevalence of the faith in these parts. This probably dates from Yuan Chwang's time (7th century A.D.) as he noted that 'the Digambara Nigranthas were very numerous' in Samatata (Watters II, p. 187) and Samatata, in Mr. Nanigopal Majumdar's opinion, included the Sundarban at the time of the Senas. (*Inscriptions of Bengal* III, p. 61). Strangely enough, there is no mention of Jainas in Yuan Chwang's account of the neighbouring kingdom of Tamralipti.

At **Lakshmikantapur** now a Railway Station near Ghateswar, a stone image was lately found in the old bed of Banai nadi and is now in the zamindar's *kachari* in Lot No. 18.

Jalghata

About 3 miles south of Jayanagar, in P. S. Mathurapur, is Jalghata where there is a *kachari* of the late Raja Pyarimohan Mukherji of Uttarpara (Hugli Dist.). In clearing the tank of this *kachari* a few years ago several stone images were found viz. three Vishnus and one Dasa-bhuja Durga which are now in the library at Uttarpara and a Garuda capital which is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The capital (Fig. 10) is nearly 3 ft. high and has two similar images carved back to back, and was evidently placed in front of some Vishnu image, *vide* rule quoted by Mr. Akshaya Kumar Maitra, *Bharati*, Sravan, 1327, p. 270 n. :

उपेन्द्रस्यागतः पक्षी गुड़ाकेशः कृताञ्जलिः। सव्यजानुगतो भूमौ मुर्द्धा च फणिमण्डितः॥
स्थूलजङ्घो नरग्रीवस्तुङ्गनासो नराङ्कः। द्विबाहुः पक्षयुक्तश्च कर्त्तव्यो विनतासुतः॥

Chhtrabhog

A little eastward of Jalghata is Chhatrabhog in Mathurapur P. S. It is a Sākta centre, the presiding deity being called Tripurasundari with the Ambulinga or Badarikanath of the adjoining village of Barasi as its Bhairava. The temple

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of Tripurasundari is a very modern building with flat roof but it houses a *yantra* or emblem and a full-size wooden image of the deity. The *yantra* which is wrapped up in red cloth is a rectangular stone. It is said to have been recovered from the ruins of an old temple at the site. This shrine which is still regarded by the Saktas as one of their *pithas* appears be an ancient one, probably identical with that named Khari, No. 26 in the list of the 64 Buddhist Tantrika pithas, given in the *Dakarnava*, a work of the 10th Century, Khari being a noted place close to it. (Sastri, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection*, 1917, Vol. I, p. 92).

The ancient importance of Chhatrabhog is testified to by the numerous brick mounds, tanks and stone and bronze images found in clearing the forest. Of these the most noteworthy are a mutilated stone Kuvera (Fig. 11) now in the Indian Museum, and a stone Vishnu and a stone miniature Dasabhuja Durga (6″×4″) which are with me, and a stone Nrisimha, a bronze Nrisimha and a bronze Ganesa which are in the temple.

Chhatrabhog appears to have been a port in olden days, and recently some iron chains and old planks and masts have been unearthed here. It is said that when the ancient port of Tamluk (V. Smith, *Asoka* p. 79) was closed by the silting of the Rupnarayan, people used to embark at Pichalda (lower down the river and above its present junction with the Hugli-Damodar) and Chhatrabhog (H. P. Sastri, quoted in Jogeshchandra Basu, *Medinipurer Itihas* p. 108). According to the *Chaitanya Bhagvata*, Chaitanya embarked here for Orissa, see p. 16.

Barasi or Ambulinga

This place adjoining Chhatrabhog is noted for its Siva *lingam*. The origin of the shrine is related in the *Chaitanya-Bhagvata*, see p. 15. The temple which is a modern one contains besides the lingam, an ancient bronze Lakshmi and a small stone Bull (Nandi) found in the ruins ; a huge *Gauripatta* of black stone is lying in front. Mr. Satis Chandra Mitra says that the lingam was installed by King Narendra Gupta in the 7th Century, A.D. but gives no authority in support of his statement (*Jessore-Khulnar Itihas* I, p. 179).

Near Barasi is Chakratirtha where in the dry bed of the Ganges there are three tanks : Chakrakund, Gopalakund and Manikund. There is a *snan-jatra* or bathing festival here on the *Sukla-pratipada* day of Chaitra (March) every year probably referred to by অম্বুলিঙ্গ মহাস্নান in the *Rayamangal*. The name is derived from the legend that when Bhagirath lost sight of Ganga as they

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reached this place, she showed him her *chakra*. This *tirtha* is referred to in Act 4 of the *Prabodh-Chandrodaya* of Krishna Misra, a native of Rarh (11th Century) :

अस्ति राढ़ाभिधानो जनपदस्तत्रैव च भागीरथीतीरपरिसरालङ्कारभूतचक्रतीर्थे

It is mentioned after Tribeni in the *Varaha-purana* (Bangavasi Edition, Ch. 130).

Madpur

This village lies south of Barasi and some two miles north-west of Khari across the dry channel of the Ganges. A Vishṇu image 2½ ft. high of the usual *chaturbhuja* type was found here sometime ago and is kept in the house of Babu Bhutnath Chakravarti.

The mouths of the Ganges

As the *Chaitanya-Bhagavat* says, the Ganges divided itself into a hundred mouths *i.e.*, branches at Chhatrabhog, and the legends of Ambulinga and Chakra-tirtha confirm this view. This is probably the reason why all the poems are indefinite about the route below Chhatrabhog, Kakadvip or Hatiaghar being practically the only landmark mentioned in any of them. From the *Chaitanya-Bhagavat* we gather that from Chhatrabhog, Chaitanya sailed down the branch which flowed westwards (Kulpi Khal) to Kulpi(?) and landed in Orissa territory somewhere opposite it on the other side of the Rupanarayan, where he took the road to Puri, see p. 16. The branch referred to in the *Chandi* and the other poems is probably the one which flowed southwards past Khari and Bakultala (Lot 22, where a Sena inscription has been found) to Lot 15 and then turned westwards to Kakadvip. This branch is called in its successive reaches the Charaganga, the Gobadia gang and the Ghibati gang, and is believed to be continued across the Baratala creek and traverse the Sagar Island to join the sea at Gangāsagar *sangam* as shewn on the Map by arrow-heads.

South-West Sundarban

The antiquities described above lie roughly speaking north of a line from Madpur through Lakshmikantapur to Kulpi. South of this line, in the old settled villages of Kantabenia (where a fine Parvanath image, two Vishnu images and some carved stones have been found), Karanjali, Malaya, Chandipur, Nakali etc. and the newly opened lots 1 to 20, antiquarian remains are being discovered, as will be described later. Only one of these, a unique **Vishnu** image I describe here. It has been very kindly presented to me by Babu Dakshina Charan

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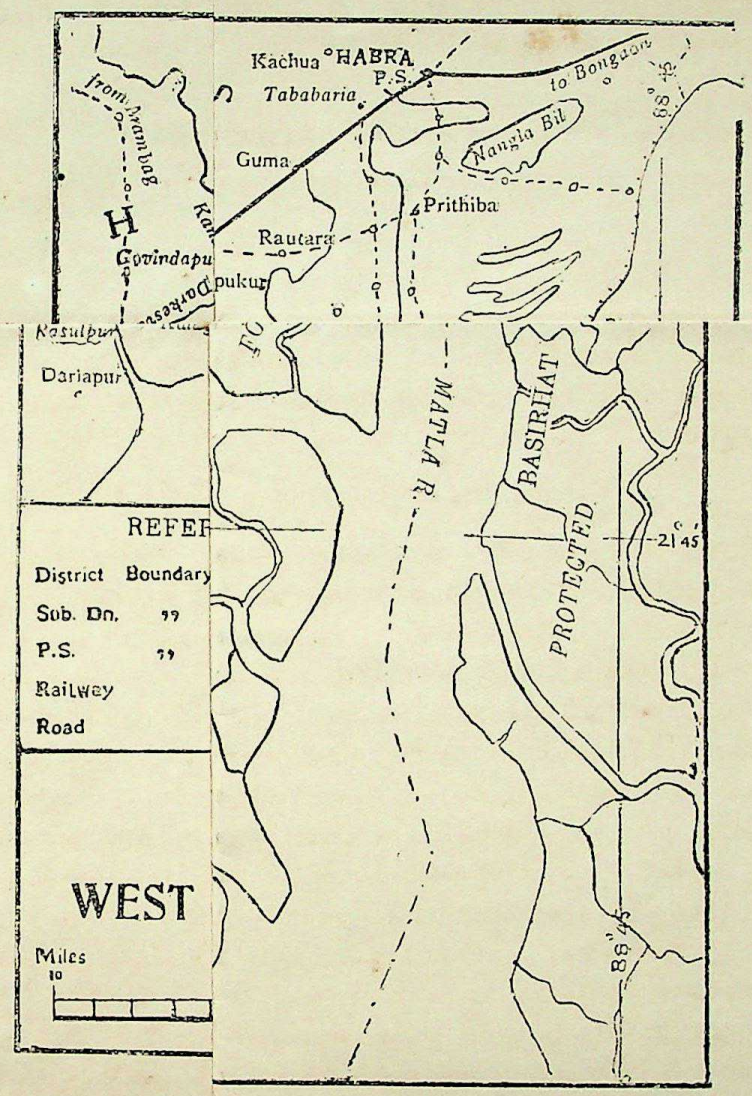

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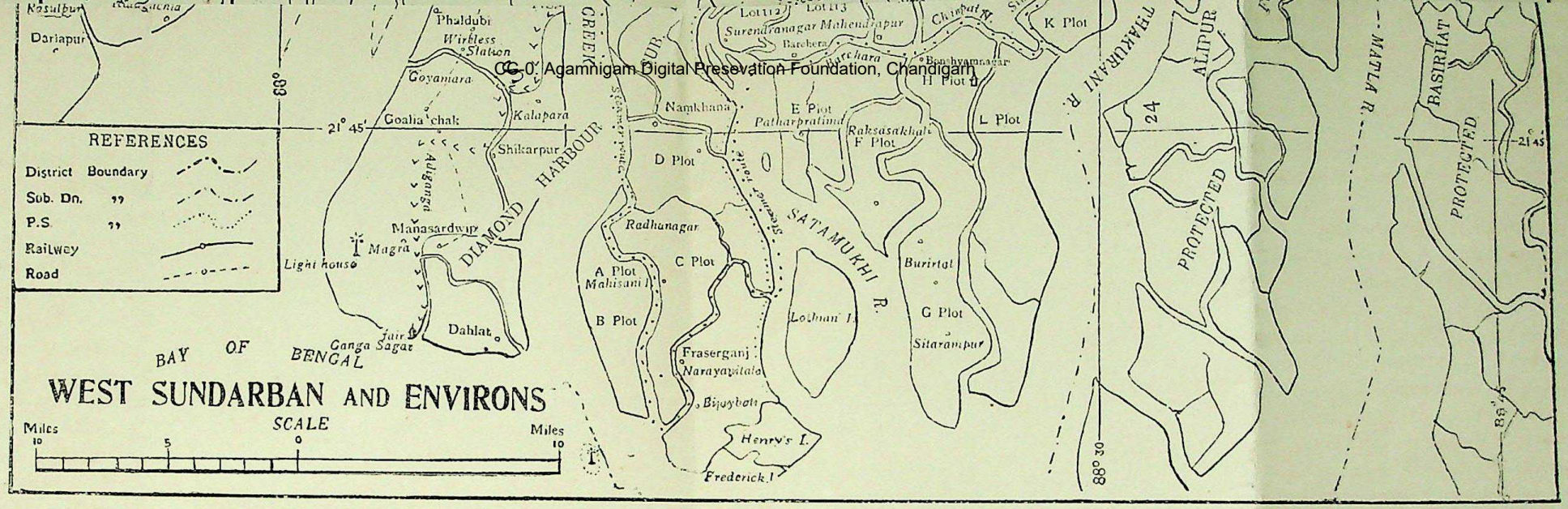

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Banerji of Baruipur. It was found some years ago in excavating a tank in his zamindari in Lot 10, P. S. Kakadvip, and represents (Fig. 12) the diety as wearing a long garland reaching to the knees and with four hands. The upper right hand holds a chakra, the lower right hand rests against a full blown lotus and is in *varada mudra*. The left upper hand holds a lotus and the left lower hand which also rests on a full blown lotus, holds a conch. From these attributes, it appears that the image can be no other than Vishnu. Two female figures in *Samapadasthanaka* pose are on the two sides· Their right hands are in *varada mudra* and the left hands hold stalks terminating in lotuses. The group stands on a plate the edge of which is decorated with lotus leaf carving. There is no *vahana* or devotee in the image. What adds considerably to the interest of the sculpture is the figure of a seven-headed serpent hood with a sprig over it which forms a canopy over Vishnu's head. A serpent hood canopy (without the sprig) occurs in a Vishnu image from Sagardighi, Murshidabad Dt. now in the Museum of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta (*Handbook to the Sculptures*. Pl. XXVI). There is no aureole and the back slab is flat at the top, with raised fillets on either side of Vishnu. The face of the image with part of its *mukuta* is badly damaged. It is decorated with many ornaments *e.g.*, *kundala*, necklace, bracelet, armlet etc. Two flying *Gandharvas* carrying garlands occupy the two top corners.

I add now an account of the Sagar Island which is a detached locality.

Sagar Island

This island is situated in the extreme south-west of the Sundarban and forms P. S. Sagar. It is roughly triangular in shape being about 25 miles long from North to South and 8 miles broad along its south face, which is washed by the Bay of Bengal. By its west flows the Hugli river and on its east is the Baratala or Channel Creek, evidently, a length cut off the Haldi river (old Rupnarayan) by the Hugli. From its shape and position the Island appears to have been cut off the Hijli mainland by the Hugli river although it is included now in the Sundarban. In its north there are two small islands, Ghoramara and Lohachora, which are said to have been formed later. On the former is the telegraph station of Mud-Point, above which the Sundarban steamers leave the Hugli and pass down Channel Creek. At its south-western corner stands Sagar lighthouse built in 1808, and about the middle of its south face where a creek believed (as noted before) to be the mouth of the Ganges meets the sea, is the *sangam* or site of the great Ganga-sagar bathing festival (lasting 3 days) held at Paus Sankranti (middle of January) every year.

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It is said that here stood the *asram* of Kapila Muni, whose wrath burnt King Sagar's 60,000 sons to ashes and consigned their souls to hell until Sagar's grandson Bhagiratha brought down the Ganges from Heaven to wash the ashes and liberate the souls as related in the *Ramayana* (Bala-Kanda. ch.43). This *tirtha* is mentioned in the *Mahabharata* (Vanaparva, Tirthayatra, chapter 114) the *Padmapurana* (Kriyayogasara, chapter 5, Bangavasi Edition) and by Kavikankan. Among historical records, it occurs in the Munger grant of king Devapala (9th Century A.D.) (*Gauda-lekhamala* Vol. 1, p. 42). According to H. H. Wilson (*Essays on the Religion of the Hindus* 1862, Vol. II, pages 164-169) there was at this site, a temple containing a huge stone image of Kapila with a large *bar* tree in front, beneath which were images of Rama and Hanuman, and a small fresh water reservoir called Sitakund at its back. It is said that these and other old temples etc., were washed away by the sea, probably in the earthquake of 1897. The present image of Kapila is said to be 'a shapeless block of stone' which is kept in Calcutta and sent down to the *sangam* and placed in an improvised temple at the time of the Paus Sankranti, every year (*Gazetteer of the 24 Parganas*, p. 256.)

The Sagar island was well populated in olden days[8] and Hedges notes in his *Diary* (1683) 'we went in our Budgeros to see ye pagodas at Sagore'. It is said that in 1688, two years before the foundation of Calcutta, 200,000 persons were swept off this island by a cyclone in one night (*Imperial Gazetteer* XII, p. 110) Reclamation work was begun early in the 19th century and inspite of ravages by sea and wind (*Gazetteer*, p. 257) much of the island has been cleared. In many of these cleatings *e.g.*, Mandirtala, Bamunkhali, Manasadvip, remains of brick-built houses, temples, wells, tanks etc. have been discovered. In digging near **Sagar Light house** some years ago, Mr. Manuel the Superintendent found a novel golden ring, which had a human figure engraved on it. Traces of old wells also have been found here. At **Mandirtala** by the side of the Hugli river there are two old wells and a ruined temple and several brick mounds, one of which is about 40 ft. high. Near this is a large tank with banks some 40 ft. wide and 15 ft. high. There is another similar tank to its north where some old coins and gold ornaments were found which are now with Babu Devendra Nath Das, Zaminder of the place. At **Dhablat** east of the *sangam*, in the *kachari* of the zeminder, Babu Pulinbihari Dutt of Calcutta,

[8] In the island of Sagore which lies upon the extreme edge of the Deltaic basin consequently * lying higher than the centre of the Delta, the remains of tanks, temples and roads are still to be seen, shewing that it was once densely populated (*Calcutta Review*, 1859, The Gangetic Delta)

* The elevation of the island rather proves that it once formed the part of the Hijli mainland. It is not natural for the edge of a delta to be higher than its centre. K. D.

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there is a Vishnu image and a Jaina Tirthankara image of black stone found in the island (with a stone Vishnu brought from Patharpratima in P. S. Mathurapur). It is said that the fine stone image of Ganga in the Yasoreswari temple at Jessore was taken there from sagar.[9]

Extracts from the *Chaitanya-Bhagavat* of Vrindavandas. Atul Krishna Gosvami's edition p. 383-386.

এই মত জাহ্নবীর কূলে কূলে। আইলেন ছত্রভোগে মহা কুতূহলে ॥
সেই ছত্রভোগে গঙ্গা হইয়া শতমুখী। বহিতে আছয়ে সর্ব্বলোকে করে সুখী ॥
জলময় শিবলিঙ্গ আছে সেই স্থানে। অম্বুলিঙ্গ ঘাট করি বলে সর্ব্বজনে ॥
অম্বুলিঙ্গ শঙ্কর হইল যে নিমিত্ত। সেই কথা কহি শুন হই এক চিত্ত ॥
পূর্ব্বে ভগীরথ করি গঙ্গা আরাধন। গঙ্গা আনিলেন বংশ উদ্ধার কারণ ॥
গঙ্গার বিরহে শিব বিহ্বল হইয়া। শিব আসিলেন শেষে গঙ্গা স্মরইয়া ॥
গঙ্গারে দেখিয়া শিব সেই ছত্রভোগে। বিহ্বল হইল অতি গঙ্গা অনুরাগে ॥
গঙ্গা দেখি মাত্র শিব গঙ্গায় পড়িল। জলরূপে শিব জাহ্নবীতে মিশাইল ॥

* * *

জলরূপে শিব রহিলেন সেই স্থানে। অম্বুলিঙ্গ ঘাট করি ঘোষে সর্ব্বজনে ॥
গঙ্গা শিব প্রভাবে সে ছত্রভোগ গ্রাম। হইল পরম ধন্য মহাতীর্থ নাম ॥

* * *

সেই গ্রামে অধিকারী রামচন্দ্র খান।[10] যদ্যপি বিষয়ী তবু মহাভাগ্যবান ॥

* * *

প্রভু বলে তুমি অধিকারী বড় ভাল। নীলাচলে যাই আমি কেমতে সকাল ॥

* * *

রামচন্দ্র খান বলে শুন মহাশয়। যে আজ্ঞা তোমার সেই কর্ত্তব্য নিশ্চয় ॥
তবে প্রভু হইয়াছে বিষম সময়।[11] এদেশে সে দেশে কেহ পথ নাহি বয় ॥
রাজারা ত্রিশূল পুঁতিয়াছে স্থানে স্থানে। পথিক পাইলে জাশু বলি লয় প্রাণে ॥
কোন দিক দিয়া বা পাঠাও লুকাইয়া। তাহাতে ডরাই প্রভু শুন মন দিয়া ॥
মুই সে রক্ষক এথা সব মোর ভার। নাগালি পাইলে আগে সংশয় আমার ॥
তথাপিও যেতে কেনে প্রভু মোর নয়। যে তোমার আজ্ঞা তাহা করিব নিশ্চয় ॥

* * *

[9] *Jessore Khulnar Itihas* by Satischandra Mitra, II, 134. Some writers say that 'Chandekan' Pratapaditya's capital according to the Jesuits was in the Sagar Island (*Gazetteer*, p 28) but this seems improbable as noted in the *Itihas* II, 143-160.

[10] This Ramchandra Khan appears to be different from his namesake of Kagazpukuria (now an insignificant village in Khulna Dt.) who is said, in certain Vaishnava works, to have ill-treated Chaitanya's colleague Nityananda and persecuted his devotee Haridas (a converted Muslim). He was probably a member of the influential family of Purandar Khan of Mainagar mentioned before.

[11] According to the late Saradacharan Mitra (*Utkale Sri-Krishna-Chaitanya* p. 8) this refers to the war of 1510 A. D. between Hussain Shah of Bengal (1493-1518) and Prataparudra of Orissa (1504-1532).

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হেনই সময়ে কহে রামচন্দ্র খান। নৌকা আসি ঘাটে প্রভু হৈলা বিদ্যমান ॥
সেই ক্ষণে হরি বলি গৌরাঙ্গ সুন্দর। উঠিলেন গিয়া প্রভু নৌকার উপর ॥
শুভ দৃষ্টে লোকেরে বিদায় দিয়া ঘরে। চলিলেন প্রভু নীলাচল নিজপুরে ॥
প্রভুর আজ্ঞায় শ্রীমুকুন্দ মহাশয়। কীর্ত্তন করেন প্রভু নৌকায় বিজয় ॥
অবোধ নাবিক বলে হইল সংশয়। বুঝিলাম আজি আর প্রাণ নাহি রয় ॥
কূলেতে উঠিলে বাঘে লইয়া পালায়। জলেতে পড়িলে কুম্ভীরেতে ধরি খায় ॥
নিরন্তর এ পাণিতে ডাকাইত ফেরে। পাইলেই ধন প্রাণ দুই নাশ করে ॥
এতেকে যাবৎ উড়িয়ার দেশ পাই। তাবৎ নীরব হও সকল গোঁসাই ॥

* * *

হেন মতে মহাপ্রভু সংকীর্ত্তন রসে। প্রবেশ হইলা আসি শ্রীউৎকল দেশে ॥
উত্তরিলা গিয়া নৌকা শ্রীপ্রয়াগ ঘাটে। নৌকা হতে মহাপ্রভু উঠিলেন তটে ॥

* * *

সেই স্থানে আছে তার গঙ্গা ঘাট নাম। তহি গৌরচন্দ্র প্রভু করিলেন স্নান ॥
যুধিষ্ঠির স্থাপিত মহেশ তথি আছে। স্নান করি তাঁরে নমস্করিলেন পাছে ॥

* * *

এই মতে মহাপ্রভু চলিয়া আসিতে। কত দিনে উত্তরিলা সুবর্ণ রেখাতে ॥

Extracts from *Chandi* of Kavi-Kankan Mukundarama. Indian Press Edition, p. 201-202 and p. 237.

ত্বরায় বহিছে তরি তিলেক না রয়। চিত্রপুর সালিখা সে এড়াইয়া যায় ॥
কলিকাতা এড়াইল বেনিয়ার বালা। বেতেড়েতে উত্তরিল অবসান বেলা ॥
ডাহিনে ছাড়িয়া যায় হিজুলির পথ। রাজহংস কিনিয়া লইল পারাবত ॥
বালীঘাটা এড়াইল বেনের নন্দন। কালীঘাটে গিয়া ডিঙ্গা দিল দরশন ॥
তীরের প্রয়াণ যেন চলে তরিবর। তাহার মেলানি বহে মাইনগর ॥
নাচনগাছা বৈষ্ণবঘাটা বামদিকে থুইয়া। দক্ষিণেতে বারাশত গ্রাম এড়াইয়া ॥
ডাহিনে অনেক গ্রাম রাখে সাধুবালা। ছত্রভোগে উত্তরিল অবসান বেলা ॥
মহেশ পূজিয়া সাধু চলিল সত্বর। অম্বুলিঙ্গে গিয়া উত্তরিল সদাগর ॥
শ্রীনীলমাধব পূজা করেন তৎপর। তাহার মেলানি সাধু পাইল হাতে ঘর ॥
সেই দিন সদাগর হাতে ঘরে রয়। প্রভাত হইলে মেলিলেন সাতনায় ॥
দুই এক তরণী জলের মধ্যে ভাসে। মগরার কথা সাধু তাহারে জিজ্ঞাসে ॥
দূরে শুনি মগরার জলের নিঃস্বন। যেন আষাঢ়ের নব মেঘের গর্জ্জন ॥
মোহানা বাহিয়া সাধু যেতে কৈল ত্বরা। প্রবেশ করিল সাধু দুর্জ্জয় মগরা ॥
পদ্মাবতী সঙ্গে যুক্তি করিয়া অভয়া। ধনপতি ছলিবারে পাতিলেন মায়া ॥

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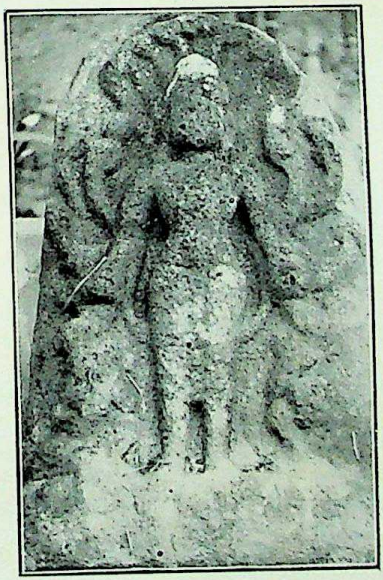
1. Surya from Kuldia.

2. Nrisimha plaque from Kuldia.



3. Parsvanath at Dkn. Barasat.

4. Ganes from Mayda.

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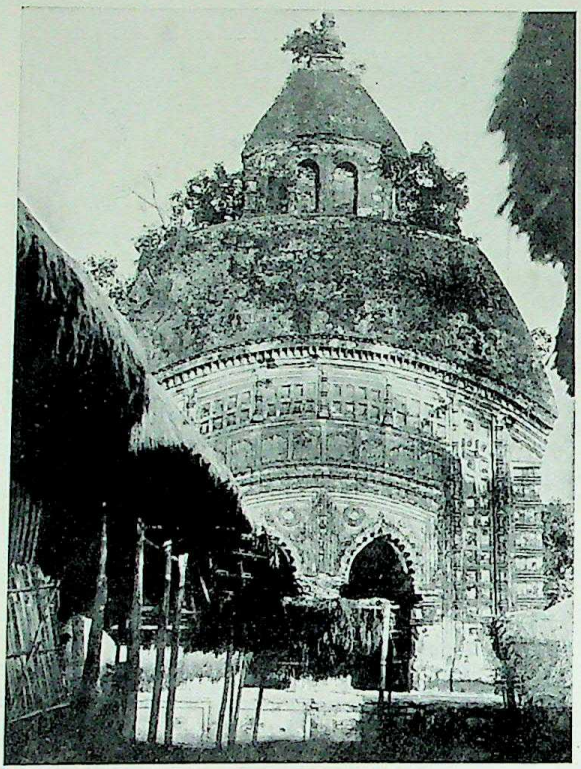
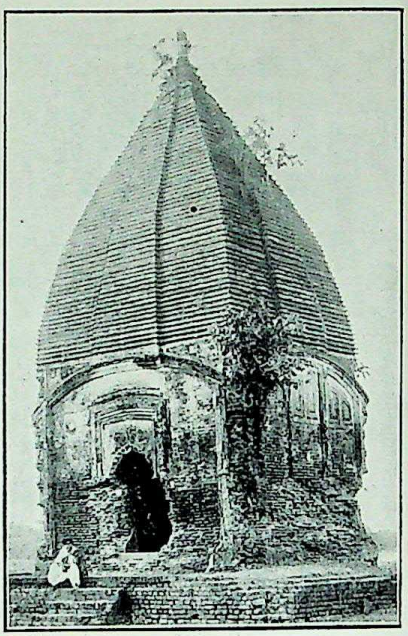
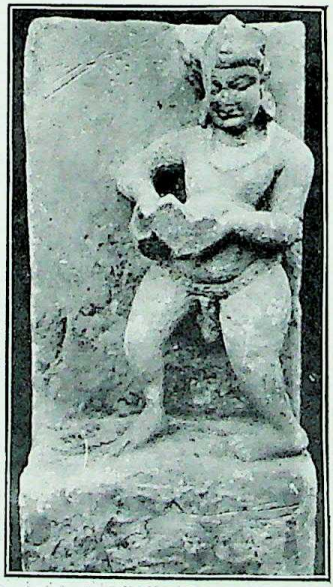


5. Kesavesvesvar Temple, Ramnathpur.



6. Twin Temple, Jagadispur.

7. Uma-Mahesvar from Netra.



8. Sculpture from Ghatesvar.

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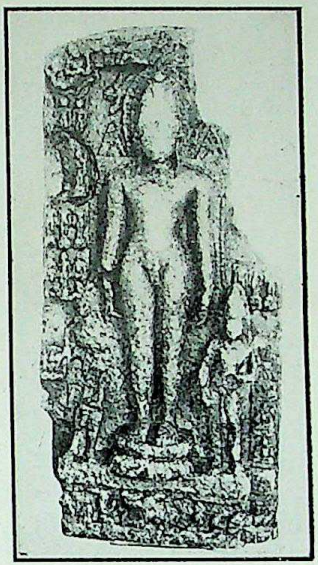
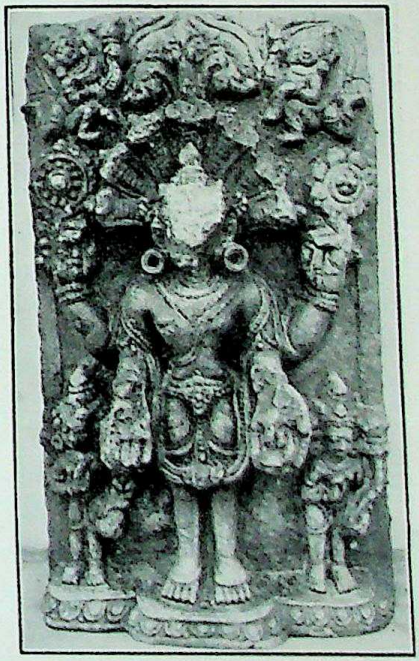


9. Adinath from Ghatesvar.

10. Garuda Capital from Jalghata.

11. Kuvera from Chhatrabhog.



12. Vishnu from Lot 10.

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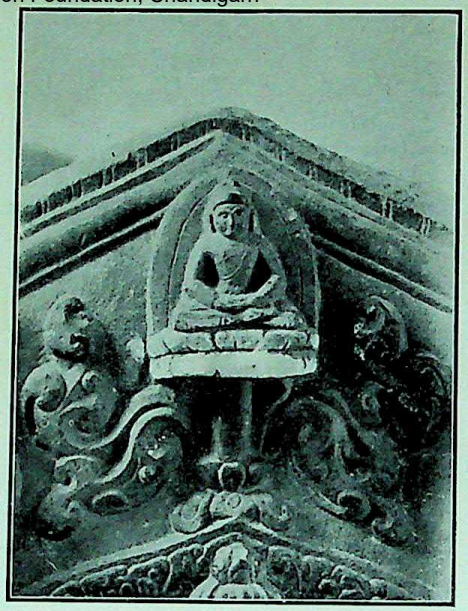
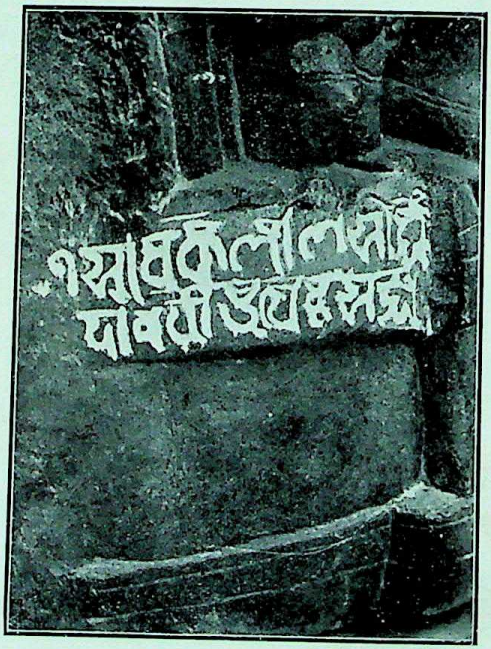
NEW SPECIMEN OF BENGAL SCULPTURE.

(Vishnu or Bodhisattva ?)

1. The Sculpture
No. 661, V.R.S. Museum.



2. Dhyani Fig, at top.



3. Inscription on pedestal.

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চণ্ডীর আদেশে ধান নদ নদীগণ। মগরা নদীর সঙ্গে করিতে মিলন॥

* * *

ঝড় বৃষ্টি দূর হৈল চণ্ডীর কৃপায়। ডিঙ্গা লৈয়া সদাগর দ্রুতগতি যায়॥
ডানি বামে ছেড়ে যায় কত কত দেশ। সঙ্কেত মাধবে দেখে সোনার মহেশ॥
সাগরসঙ্গম দেখি কাণ্ডারের রঙ্গ। কহে সাধু শ্রিয়পতি সাগর প্রসঙ্গ॥

Extract from the *Rayamangal* of Krishnarama in *Bangalar Purabritta* by Pares-chandra Banerji, p. 18-19.

গাঠের গাবর যত, বাহিতে বড়ই রত, ছাড়াইল দুর্জ্জয় মগরা॥
গোজানা বাহিয়া চলে, কর্ণধার কুতূহলে, ধামাই বেতাই কৈল পাছে॥
সারি গায় জুড়ি জুড়ি, কাকদ্বীপ গজঘড়ি, ছাড়াইল বনিকের রাজে॥
টীয়া খোল পাছু আন, গঙ্গা ধারায় করি স্নান, উপনীত হৈল ছত্রভোগ॥
অম্বুলিঙ্গ মহাস্নান, নাহি যার উপমান, তথায় বন্দিল বিশ্বনাথ॥
বাদ্য বাজে সুমধুর, বহিয়া রাজা বিষ্ণুপুর, জয়নগর করিল পশ্চাৎ॥
সঘনে দামামা ধ্বনি, ভাবিয়ায় গুণমণি, বড়ুক্ষেত্র বাহিল আনন্দে॥
বারাসতে উপনীত, হইয়া সাধু হরষিত, পূজিল ঠাকুর সদানন্দে॥
বাহিল হাসুড়ি করি, চালাইল সপ্ততরী, খলটী করিল পাছু আন॥
দুই দুর্গা ক্রমে ক্রমে, বাহিয়া হরিযে ডিঙ্গে, বাজে কাড়া বরণ বিশাল॥
সাধু ঘাটা পাছে করি, সূর্য্যপুর বাহে তরী, চাপাইল বারুইপুরে আসি॥
বিশেষ মহিমা বুঝি, বিশালাক্ষী দেবী পূজি, বাহে তরী সাধু গুণরাশি॥
মালঞ্চ রহিল দূর, বাহিয়া কল্যানপুর, কল্যান মাধব প্রণমিল॥
বাহিলেক যত গ্রাম, কি কায করিয়া নাম, বড়দহ ঘাটে উত্তরিল॥

Extract from the *Satyanarayan* song of Ayodhyarama. MS, with Babu Sashi-bhusan Pathak, Dakshin Barasat.

কালীঘাট পরিহরি, বেয়ে চলে দ্রুত তরী, মহাআনন্দিত সওদাগর॥
বাজে দামা দড়মাশা, বামে রহে গ্রাম রসা, গীত গায় গাঠের গাবর॥
সাকুভাকু সারভাটা, বাহিল বৈষ্ণবঘাটা, করি সব হরি হরি রব॥
বারুইপুরের পর, রত্নাকর সওদাগর, সাধুঘাটা করিল পশ্চাৎ॥
বারাশত গ্রামে গিয়া, নানা উপহার দিয়া, পূজা করিল অনাদি বিশ্বনাথ॥
অম্বুলিঙ্গ হাতিয়াঘর, এড়াইল দড়বড়, গাঠের গাবর মিলি সব॥
তার গঙ্গা পরশিয়া, কপিলেরে প্রণমিয়া, পূজে গঙ্গাসাগর মাধব॥

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II

[Reprinted, with permission, from the *Modern Review*, November, 1929. An article identifying the image as Vishnu appeared in the Review for February, 1929, and was reprinted in V. R. S. *Annual Report*, 1928-29.]

A New specimen of Bengal Sculpture

(A Vishnu or a Bodhisatva?)

Kshitish Chandra Sarkar, M.A., B.L.

The attention of scholars interested in Indian Iconography is drawn to a new specimen of sculpture acquired by the Rajshahi Varendra Research Society in its beautiful collection of treasures of Art.

It is a sculpture in relief on a stone slab measuring 32″ × 15″ in a fair state of preservation, revealing a fairly developed stage of art. The topmost portion of the stone slab contains the image of a seated male figure engaged in *Dhyana* or contemplation.

Superficially, however, the image in question may present some characteristics of a type of Vishnu, but, it is needless to say that such a combination with a Dhyani-Buddha, Amitabha at the top has not hitherto been found either in literature or sculpture as an undoubted type of Vishnu in the land of Vishnu worship. There is no place in this sculpture for (i) Vishnu's favourite *Vahana*, the mythical bird Garuda, nor is there any place for (ii) his consort Lakshmi and Sarasvati to his right or left. The pedestal, on the other hand, shows in a circular space a six-armed male figure in a pose of war dance. The main image has four male figures as companions—two on each side. The four hands of the main image hold four emblems but the lotus (*padma*[1]) and the mace (*gada*[2]) are not indicated in the usual way, nor in any such way as to indicate that they are the lotus and the mace.

The lump-like object in the lower right hand cannot, however, be taken to represent the lotus-bud as there are no spots to indicate the same. An object of uniform width placed in a horizontal position on a lotus stalk held in the upper left hand cannot possibly be taken to represent the mace (*gada*). To some it may seem that to the right and left of the image are the *Ayudha-purushas*,

[1] The lotus flower in the hand of Manjusri represents the teaching of Buddha.....the blue lotus .... is the special symbol of Manjusri and the green of Tara The lotus bud is a more frequent form in China or Japan than in Tibet.

[2] 'गदाद्वितल' *i.e.*, 2 *Talas*

(Hemadri's *Chaturvarga-chintamani*, Vol. II, Vratakhanda).

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representing the discus[3] and the conch. Each of these standing figures carries a stalk of lotus and on it are placed the discus and the conch, but the illustration does not show that the lotus stalks are held in any way by the hands of these figures. The smaller figures by the side of these *Ayudha-purushas* remain, however, still unidentified.

The deity wears *Vanamala*, a flower garland of technical name, which hangs down to the knees. The [V. R. S. Museum image No. 662] of a Bodhisatva also wears a similar flower garland, clearly indicating that the *Vanamala* was not a monopoly of Vishnu in Indian sculpture. The discus or wheel (*chakra*[4]) and the conch (*samkha*[5]), favourite emblems held in the hands by Vishnu, are similarly not peculiar to him alone.

These considerations may raise a legitimate doubt about a definite and correct identification of the image under review. Images of four-armed Vishnu, divided into twenty-four types, arranged in four well established groups (*Vyuhas*) are well known in literature, and some of the types have also been noticed in the specimens preserved in museums and temples. The specimen under discussion with a *Dhyani* figure at the top does not, however, conform to any of them. An image is a spiritual diagram (*Yantra*) and its essential features are, therefore, regulated by ritualistic scripture in which there is no room for fanciful creations according to the whim of the artists. This makes correct identification possible in spite of all complexities of types.

Ayudha-purushas are personified weapon-emblems, and are, therefore, different from attendant deities (*Parsva-devatas*)and door-keepers (*Dvara-palas*). The literal meaning of *Ayudha* is a weapon of war of one of these three types :— (i) that held in the hand, while in use, such as a sword ; (ii) that thrown with the hand, such as the discus ; (iii) and that thrown with an instrumental contrivance, such as an arrow propelled by the bow. In Indian Iconography, the word however came to include, besides actual weapons of war, some emblems which could not properly be regarded as weapons, such as the lotus, the conch, the

3. *Chakrapurusha* is described in the *Vishnu Dharmottara* as a male figure, with round eyes and drooping belly, this image of *Chakra* should be adorned with various ornaments and should carry a *Chamara*. It should be sculptured so as to indicate that it is evincing a desire to gaze upon Vishnu; and the left hand of Vishnu should be made to rest upon the head of *Chakrapurusa (Elements of Hindu Iconography* by Gopinath Rao).

4. *Chakra*, in Buddhism, it symbolizes "The Wheel of the Law" which turns twelve times, or three revolutions for each of the four Noble Truths. It is represented with 8 spokes or (multiplies of eight), indicating the Eightfold path of self-conquest.

5. *Samkha*—The *Varahapurana* says that the *Samkha* is the destroyer of *Avidya* or ignorance. (*Elements of Hindu Iconography*)

Conch-shell—symbol of the preaching of Buddha as well as of the feminine principles. (A. Getty's *Gods of Northern Buddhism*).

So it is not very unlikely that a type of Manjusri Bodhisatva—the God of 'Transcendent wisdom'—should possess a *Samkha* in his hand.

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Damaru or drum, the book, and the like. The discus came to be represented in the Indian sculpture in two ways (i) as a weapon of war, (ii) as a mere emblem indicating the wheel or the reign of law. As a weapon of war, the discus is held in the hand in a way suggestive of motion; as a mere emblem, a state of stable equilibrium is suggested by its artistic treatment which invented a suitable device, a lotus-seat for the emblem.

The conch and the discus of Vishnu are noticeable in the head-dress[6] of his door-keepers Jaya and Vijaya; but the lotus and the club do not appear to have been used in that way. The *Ayudhas* or weapon emblems came to be given well-established human forms, and when such forms were given the symbols in the hands of the deity were superseded by them. Personified forms were placed alongside the main image and two of his hands, conveniently the lower ones, were usually placed on the heads of the personified weapon-emblems. *Ayudha-purushas* came accordingly to represent the *Ayudhas* held in the two lower hands.

If the two attendant figures on two sides of the main figure were intended to represent *Ayudha-purushas*, they would be *Ayudha-purushas* of the lotus and the conch, and not of the discus and the conch.

In the Vishnu images of known types, the main image has by his side, his consorts and door-keepers; and so two figures, one female and another male, appear on each side. In the illustration, however, are visible two male figures on each side, evidently indicative of companion-deities and door-keepers of the main deity. The *Dhyani* figure at the top clearly connects the image with Buddhistic and not Brahmanic conception. It may reveal a type of Manjusri of the Buddhists, a four-armed standing figure with a seated *Dhyani* figure at the top, and a lump of sweetmeat in the right lower palm, a wheel placed on a lotus in the right upper hand, a *Puthi*-like (book-like) object with a flower on it or a flaming pearl placed on a lotus on the left upper hand, and a conch in the palm of the left lower hand. The six-armed male figure in a posture of war dance represents a class or a (*Gana*) of *Bhutas* as may commonly appear in all pedestals according to the texts:

भूतप्रेतादिभिः कुर्य्यात् पीठासनमनन्तरम् ।—तन्त्रसारे ।

Manjusri worship was at one time so popular that it received equally fervent adoration from Brahmanic and Buddhistic devotees. The *Trikanda-sesha* gives us twenty four names of this deity, two of which connect him with the

[6]. Head-dress—According to Canon quoted by Hemadri in his *Chaturvarga-chintamani* मूर्द्धि स्वायुध लाञ्छनम्

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wheel अष्टारचक्रवान् (*i. e.*, holder of a wheel of eight spokes) and स्थिरचक्रः (stable wheeled). His attendant figures and figures of door-keepers are well-known. As he was conceived as a bachelor and called *Kumar*, no female image in some specimens found a place by his side.

Munjusri was conceived in Indian painting and sculpture in two principal types,[7] as a warrior fighting against ignorance and as a "peace-loving dispenser of knowledge." In one type the sword or the bow and the arrow appear as fitting emblems, together with a roaring leopard or a lion as a *Vahana*. In the other, the wheel of law of stable equilibrium and the conch appear as fitting emblems of the peace-loving dispenser of knowledge. The *Puthi* (book) is his distinctive emblem and is noticeable in both types. The book is supposed to be *Prajna-paramita* which is associated also with some specimens of other Buddhistic deities such as Avalokitesvara, Cunda, Vasudhara and Pranjnaparamita as noticed by A. Getty in her work, *the Gods of Northern Buddhism*. It is represented in sculpture as held in the hand between the fingers or as placed on a lotus held in the hand by the stalk. The sculpture in question shows an object of uniform width in a horizontal position on a lotus seat held by the stalk in the left upper hand. The mace (*gada*) is not of uniform breadth throughout, it is not a short but a long weapon, and is usually held in a perpendicular position. Its representation in sculpture conforms to those characteristics. As they are totally absent in the illustration, the object in question cannot be safely regarded as a representation of the mace (*gada*). The eyes of the main image have more agreement with the Buddhistic than with Brahmanic deities and correspond to the type described by Waddel as a representation of a "dreamy look."

The ornaments also contain important indications which may throw light upon the question of identification. While almost all ornaments depicted in sculpture of Vishnu may be found in other deities also, the Kaustuva jewel is peculiar to him. It rose according to mythology from the ocean during its churning. It was a jewel of the variety called Padmaraga and was appropriated by Vishnu for the decoration of his breast as noted in the *Bhagavata* :—

"कौस्तुभाख्यमभूद्रत्नं पद्मरागो महोदधेः । तस्मिन् हरिः स्वहृदां चक्रे वक्षोऽलङ्करणेमनौ ॥—भागवते

This jewel appeared in sculpture as a pendant attached to the necklace and is noticeable in specimens of Vishnu images. This pendant is not exhibited in the specimen under review. Besides these, there are other considerations which

[7]. Manjusri or Manjughosha as he is frequently called in the *Sadhana*, has two distinct types :—one with the sword and book, which is his more usual form and the other with the *Utpala* or the blue lotus .....the book may be held, but is more generally supported by an *Utpala*, surmounting it is sometimes a flaming pearl. (A. Getty's *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*.)

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may raise a legitimate doubt about the identification of this image with Vishnu. As the image in question has a *Dhyani* figure on the top of the slab and an inscription on its pedestal, the two should be taken together into consideration for proper identification. The inscription consists of fifteen letters, *viz.*,

साधक[8] लालसीं (सिं) ह.....सङ्घ (स्य)

The concluding word *Samgha* is indicative of the donor's connection with Buddhism. The image on the top of the slab, a small sitting image of a two-armed male figure in the pose of meditation is like Amitabha. Although "Akshobhya" is generally seen on the top slab of Manjusri yet Amitabha also is not uncommon. In *Buddhist Iconography,* Dr. Bhattacharya says "As a matter of fact, some consider him to mean emanation of Amitabha, others of Akshobhya, still others of the group of the five *Dhyani* Buddhas."

Brahmanic Iconography discloses essential features of Brahmanic ritualistic characteristics—the *Vahana*, the *Pitha-devatas, Parsva-devatas, Dvara-devatas* and the *Ayudhapurushas* which are worshipped along with the main image. Vishnu images have, therefore, to be worshipped with *Saktis* as *Parsva-devatas,* Garuda as *Vahana* and the distinctive *Ayudhapurushas* in the form of symbols of *Samkha, Chakra, Gada,* and *Padma.* The image in question has no female *Parsva-devata* or *Vahana.* Dancing male figure in the pedestal with Vishnu may seem to one as that of Siva in his *Samharamurti.* The presence of dancing figures in pedestals cannot be safely taken as indicative of any particular sect. Such figures of *Bhutas* and *Pretas* as these may be found in pedestals. Such dancing figures in the pedestal are also visible in images other than those of Vishnu (cf. No. 692, in the Rajshahi Museum). The six-handed dancing figure may be taken by one as the representation of Siva, perhaps in his fifth form of the *Tripurantaka* attitude. But in all the five forms of *Tripurantaka murti,* there should be only four arms and no more (*Elements of Hindu Iconography,* Vol. 2, part I) and there should be the *Devi* to the left of Siva. The figure in question does not conform to either. Besides these, it is not likely that Siva or Mahesvara—the God of all gods—should be placed below the feet of Vishnu. In the representation of the Hindu Trinty—Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesvara—they are generally found placed in the same row and not one below the other (cf. No. 400 Rajshahi Museum) representing chiefly Brahma with long beard and Siva with trident.

Next in support of the identification of the *Dhyani* figure at the top

8. For साधक, some may read स (श्रा) वक ।

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of the slab with Brahma one may refer to some specimens of sculptures in the Mathura museum. In some of the specimens there are figures at the side of the halo. The sides of the halo may represent the *Vyoma-mandala* or the sky where gods, demi-gods, *kinnaras* are sometimes represented.* Dr. Vogel has not stated definitely that such figures are the representations of Brahma and Siva and he has added "probably" in referring to all such specimens. One may lay special stress on the figure represented on pl. xvii (No. D. 6) in the *Catalogue of the Mathura Museum*, about which Dr. Vogel says that it "perhaps" represents *Vaishnavi* the female counterpart of Vishnu. Again, however, with regard to the same image in question and the seated *Dhyani* figure in the centre of the top of the slab, Dr. Vogel has stated as follows :—"In the centre of the top of the slab is a cross-legged figure of a *Jina* (?).....seated in meditation (Skr. *Dhyanamudra*) .....the sculpture seems to be the same as the Brahmanical female figure with ten arms" mentioned by Cunningham "as having been discovered in the Kankali Tila. If so, the sculpture is probably Jaina." So Dr. Vogel has also expressed his doubt as to whether the image should be regarded as Brahmanical or not. Further, the *Dhyani* figure on the top slab may not represent Brahma, for the conception of Brahma is generally that of a four-faced bearded figure with a *Hamsa* (swan) as carrier. These considerations perhaps may lead one however to accept this image under review rather as a Bodhisatva (be it a type of Manjusri or any other Bodhisatva) than as a type of Vishnu, although it may seem to one at first sight as a type of a Brahminical image.

N.B. In the last Fifth All India Oriental Conference held at Lahore, I availed myself of the opportunity of placing the photograph of this image before some of the veteran experts in Iconography in order to elicit their opinion about this unique sculpture, and I am glad to be able to say that some of them suggested that it was an image of Bodhisatva and not of Vishnu.

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III

A Tour in Dinajpur and Rangpur

Niradbandhu Sanyal, M.A., B.L.

In February last, when the excavations at Paharpur were drawing to a close, I was privileged to accompany Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, on a visit to the old site of Ban-Rajar-Garh or Bangarh and its neighbouring ruins, in the south-west corner of the District of Dinajpur, and some collections of mediæval sculptures at Dinajpur and Rangpur towns. This visit, though necessarily a hurried one, enabled me to acquaint myself personally with the localities and to examine fresh materials of interest for the study of the antiquities of this part of Varendra.

Bangarh

Occupying the very heart of Varendra, Bangarh, now a part of *maujah* Damdama, under P. S. Gangarampur, is only some 40 miles, north-west of Paharpur, as the crow flies, and 16 miles south-west of Dinajpur town, from which it is conveniently reached by a road leading to Gangarampur, 2 miles further south. Here is a commodious Inspection Bungalow, where visitors to Bangarh can eat and rest.

The legendary history of these ruins associates the site with a thousand-armed demon, Bana, son of Bali. He was a worshipper of Siva, and it is said, swung for a thousand years, from hooks passed through the skin of his back, to win the favour of that God. The power which he thus achieved enabled him to fight even Krishna, whose grand-son Aniruddha had secretly married his daughter Usha, who had become fond of him in a dream (*Vishnu Purana*, Bk. V. ch. 32-33). Tezpur, on the Brahmaputra, in Assam, claims also to be the city of Bana. This only shows how well known names of mythology were foisted by popular tradition on different places of antiquity at different times.

There is, however, no doubt that Bangarh was an important place from very early times and it had more than one name : Banapura, Umavana, Kotivarsha, Sonitapura and Devikota (*Trikandasesha* II, 1. 17 ; *Abhidhanachintamani*, IV, 43). Available records indicate that the site was a flourishing city from the time of the Imperial Guptas to that of the early Muslim rulers. We learn from five copper-plate grants (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 129 ff), dis-

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covered at Damodarpur, not very far from Bangarh, that under the Guptas, from 124 to 224 G. E. (A.D. 443-544), the city of Kotivarsha was the head-quarters (*adhishthana*) of a district (*vishaya*) of the same name, under the *bhukti* (division) of Pundravarddhana. The District-officer (*vishayapati*) was appointed by the Governor (*Uparika*) of Pundravarddhana-*bhukti*. This nominee of the Crown, assisted by a Council of Four, conducted the administration, the latter, composed of the Mayor of the town, the chief of the Nobility, the chief Registrar and a representative of merchantmen. How long this system of local administration endured, after the fall of the Guptas, we do not yet know. But there is evidence to prove that even under their successors, the Palas, this *vishaya* continued under the same denomination and was subdivided into a number of *mandalas* (circles). No less than three copper-plate grants, the Bangarh grant of Mahipala, the Amgachi grant of Vigrahapala III and the Manahali grant of Madanapala, donate lands in the Kotivarsha-vishaya (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXI, pp. 77—87; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 293-301; Maitra, *Gaudalekhamala*, pp. 147-158). The *mandalas* mentioned therein are: Gokalika, Brahmanigrama and Halavarta. What the city looked like none can tell; only the casual notice of Sonitapura in the *Ramacharita* (III. 9) calls up a vision of its ancient magnificence, with temples thronged with worshippers and tanks smiling with lotuses. An inscription on a pillar from Bangarh, now in the palace-garden of the Maharaja of Dinajpur, refers to the building of a temple of Siva by a king of Gauda, of the Kamboja family (*J. P. A. S. B.*, N. S., Vol. VII, pp. 615 ff). In the said document, this temple is eulogised as an 'ornament of the Earth'. From the exquisite workmanship of the pillar, this description appears to have been hardly an exaggeration. Its date has, however, not yet been settled beyond doubt.

The splendour of the ancient city ended with the approach of the army of Islam; the gods were broken, the temples were levelled and over their ruins were set up mosques with materials of the older remains. On the east of the Ganges, Diw-kot or Dib-kot (Devikota), as it was known to the Muhammadan historian, was the most important military post on the northern frontier of the territory of Lakhanawati, founded by Muhammad-i-Bakht-yar (*Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, Raverty's transl., Vol. I, p. 562 n) and formed the base of further Muhammadan operations in this direction. As Raverty notes, in these early days of Muslim rule, 'the city of Lakhanawati is seldom mentioned, while Diw-kot is constantly referred to by various authors' (*loc. cit.* p. 575 n). Indeed, it would seem, from Minhaj's narrative, that it was the chief seat of the Khalj

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Maliks in their early days (*Ibid*, p. 578). The name of Devikota is associated with the last days of Muhammad-i-Bakht-yar, whose conquering career, on his return from the so-called Tibetan expedition, was cut short here by the knife of an assasin (*Ibid*, p. 573) in A. H. 602 (A. D. 1205). The seat of Government of the Khalj Maliks was removed from Devikota to Lakhanawati (*Ibid*, p. 582) by Husam-ud-din Iwaz (A.D. 1211-1226) who connected the two cities by an embanked road, 'for this reason', as Minhaj says, 'that, in the rainy season, the whole of that tract becomes innundated, and that route is filled with mud swamps and morass, and, if it were not for these dykes, it would be impossible for people to carry out their intentions, or reach various structures and inhabited places except by means of boats' (*Ibid*, p. 586).

No mention of Devikota is made in Muhammadan history after this time. After the transfer of the capital, perhaps, it continued as a military station for some time longer, and then as its importance diminished with the expansion of the Muhammadan power in Bengal, sank gradually into insignificance. Little is known of it, under the successors of the Khalj Maliks, except what can be gathered from five stone-inscriptions, fixed to the walls of a mosque on the site, as noted below. These inscriptions, which refer to the construction of mosques and monuments (*dargah*) at the place, cover a period of a little over two centuries, ranging in date from A. H. 697 to 918 (A.D. 1297-1512).

By the time of the Mughals, Devikota appears to have passed into obscurity and is not shown on any of the Portuguese or Dutch maps of Bengal of the sixteenth or seventeenth century (cf. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, De Barros' map of Bengal, *frontispiece*, also *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII, pt. I, pl. IV, facing p. 242). In Akbar's settlement (A.D. 1582), it appears to have been included in Havelee-Pinjarah, as the estate of the Dinajpur Raj was then called, and has since then remained incorporated within that estate, its memory being preserved now by its ruins and the name of the *Parganah* which is yet called Deokot (*J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXII, pt. I, p. 211).

The city is fallen ! There is little of material Kotivarsha or Devikota that meets the eye to-day. On the eastern bank of the Punarbhava, known anciently as the Apunarbhava (Ramacharita, *M. A. S. B.*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 47, v. 10), the site now occupies a desolate waste of ruins. It had long since attracted the attention of eminent European explorers, of whom, Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, who visited the ruins as early as between 1807-11 and Sir Alexander Cunningham who came towards the end of the century, have left detailed accounts

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of the rema ns (Martin's *Eastern India*, Vol. II, pp. 659-665 ; *A. S. R.*, Vol. XV, 1879-80, pp. 95-100).

Ascending from the Dinajpur road, we reached the *citadel*, girt by a quadrangular enclosure of massive mound-covered walls, flanked by the river on the west and a moat on the other three sides. The extent of this fortification, as Dr. Buchanan notes, is 1800 ft. from north to south by 1500 ft. from east to west. The general level of the land inside is high, relieved by a depression towards the south and two small eminences, one in the centre (called the Rajbari) and the other at the south-east corner.

A causeway across the moat leads into the *city*, occupying according to the estimate of Buchanan, an area of above a mile square, and protected, like the citadel, by ramparts and moats. The temples are there no more. The mosques and monuments (*dargah*) that replaced them are also gone ; the remains of only one now dominate these ruins. This is the monument of Sultan Pir, built in the early days of Muslim rule, on the site of a Hindu temple and with the spoils thereof. In the centre of this shrine are yet standing four granite pillars of the usual Pala type, each about 16 ft. high. The door-jambs used in the construction of the gateway are also taken from some Hindu ruins. Close by, are the pools of 'life' (*Jivat kundu*) and 'immortality' (*Amrita-kundu*), perhaps, associated with the older Hindu temple, of which the remains lie below. At the north-west end of the enclosure, there are the ruins of another shrine, the *dargah* of Shah Bokhari.

About a mile south of the 'city,' in the Muhammadan quarter of *Dumduma* (cantonment), there is still another Muhammadan shrine—the *dargah* of Shah Ata—fronting on an ancient embanked road, which comes from Bansihari in the west and goes east to Ghoraghat. This building, raised, as usual, on the ruins of an older Hindu or Buddhist temple, 'is a square,' to quote Cunningham's description, 'of 26 ft. 10 in. inside, with walls 5 ft. 9 in. thick. The lower part of the walls, for three courses in height, is of coarse grey stone ; all above is of brick. The dome has disappeared long ago. The western niche (*kiblah*) is very highly ornamented with carved bricks. * * * In front of the tomb to the south, * * * there is an open court-yard, with a room at each end. That to the west appears to have been the *chilla* or resting place of the saint while the eastern room was most probably his kitchen.' Outside this court, stands a broken pillar, suggestive, in style, of a Muhammadan adaptation of the older Hindu type. Within the mosque, Cunningham noticed a grave in the eastern half ; no trace now remains of it. There is, however, no doubt that this shrine

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was originally a tomb and was subsequently converted into a mosque. Fixed in its walls, were found five inscriptions by Buchanan, which have already been referred to above (Martin's *Eastern India*, Vol. II, pp. 660ff ; cf. also *A. S.R.* Vol. XV, pp. 97-100). From one of these records, we learn that the construction of this monument was commenced by Maulana Ata, and completed by order of Sultan Sikandar Shah, son of Ilyas Shah, in A. H. 765 (A.D. 1363), by Ghiyas "the golden-handed." From another inscription the building appears to have been repaired in A. H. 896 (A.D. 1490), during the reign of Muzaffar Shah. The final restoration, changing the *dargah* into a mosque, was effected in A. H. 908 (A.D. 1512) in the reign of Ala-ud-din Husen Shah, by a noble of his court, Khan-i-Azim Rukn Khan. The inscription which refers to this is placed immediately over the entrance door. Of the two remaining inscriptions, one, belonging to the reign of Kai Kaus, appears to have been removed to its present position from some other building on the site which had fallen to ruins. It describes the building of a mosque, in A. H. 697 (A.D. 1297), by a noble named Zafar Khan Bahram Aitigin under the supervision of Salah Jiwand of Multan. The other, of the reign of Jalalu-d-din Fath Shah, dated probably in A. H. 885 (A.D. 1480), is now lost, leaving an empty panel (for full texts and translations of the above inscriptions, see *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXI, Pt. I, pp. 102ff).

From the road in front of the shrine, a descent, paved with materials of old Hindu temples, leads down to a large tank, called the *Dhaldighi*, which is east to west long and is, therefore, supposed to be of Muhammadan construction. On the west of these steps is an old grave-yard, with chambers covered over with stones. Similar chambers, I hear, have also been found near the Gumti Gate at Gaur. A little to the east is *Kaladighi*, which, unlike the former is north to south long and said to have been named after Kala Rani, the queen of Bana.

The ruins extend all around beyond the enclosures, referred to, and even across the river to the opposite bank, where some half a mile from the city, is a mound called Ushabati (the house of princess Usha of the legend). Not very far off are the ruins of a Muhammadan shrine, the *dargah* of Pir Baha-ud-din.

Tapan.

At Tapan, 7 miles south of Gangarampur, is an isolated mound, locally known as Patharpunja. It is close to the famous tank of Tapan and rises to a height of about 30 ft. above the surrounding country, with a slope towards

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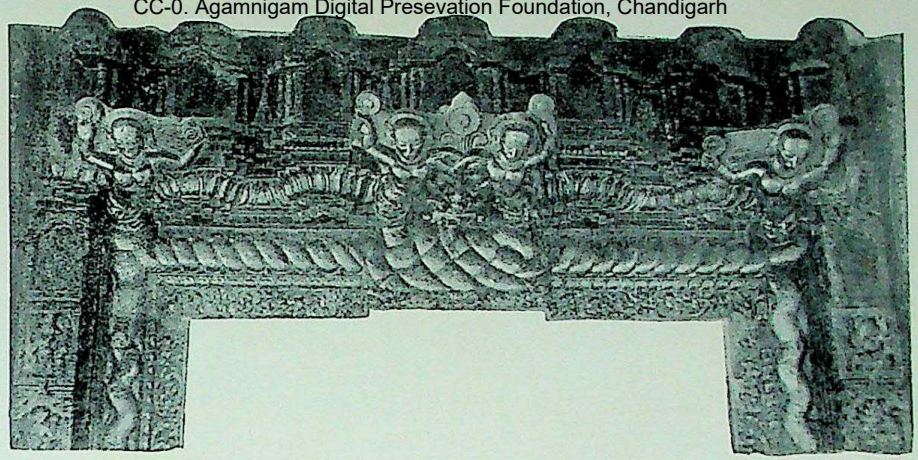
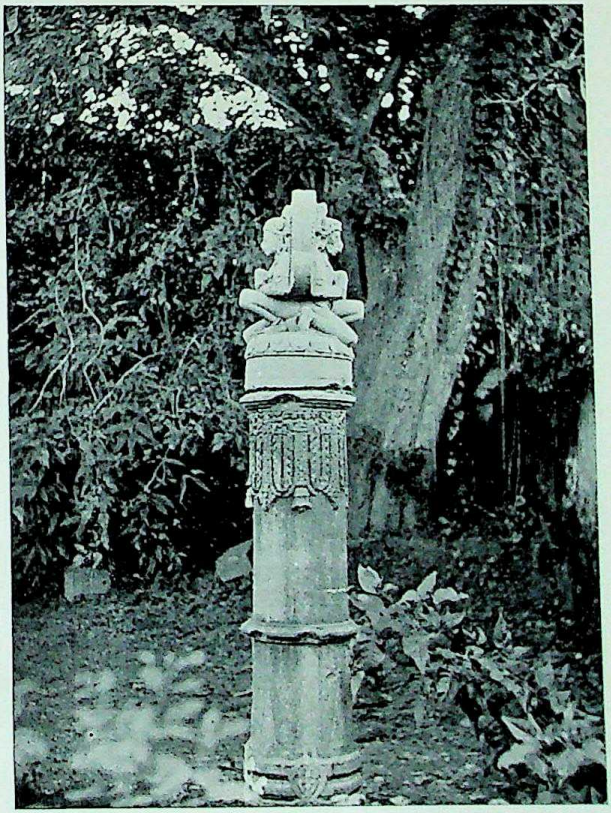


1. Top of Nag-dwar, Dinajpur Rajbari



2. Garuda Pillar, Dinajpur, Rajbari.

3. Top of Garuda Pillar.

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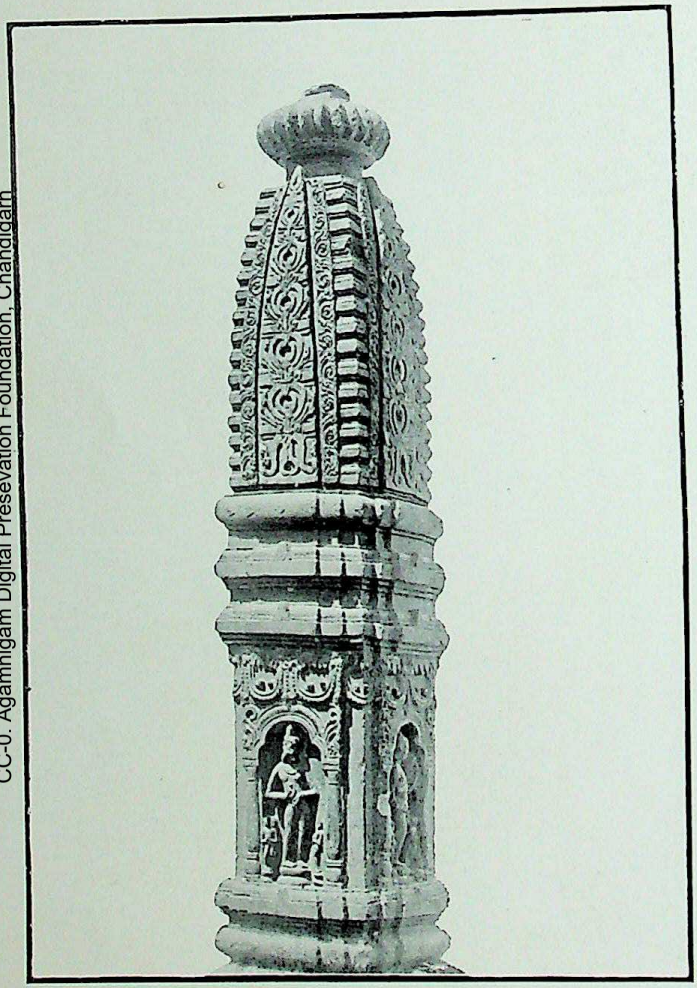
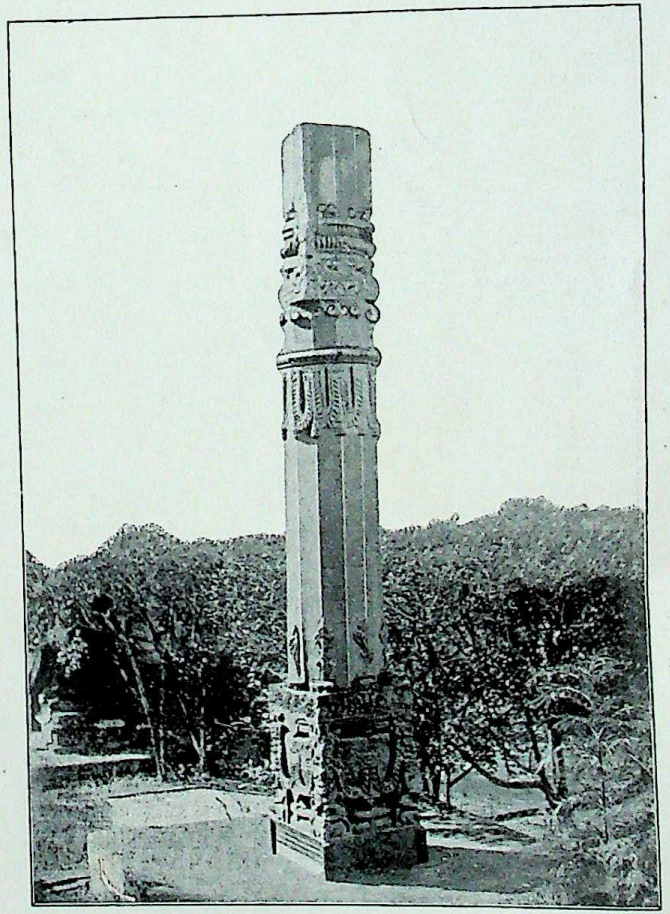
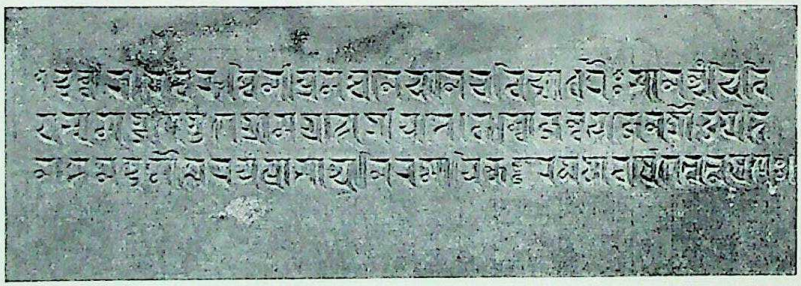


4. Votive Temple, Dinajpur Rajbari.

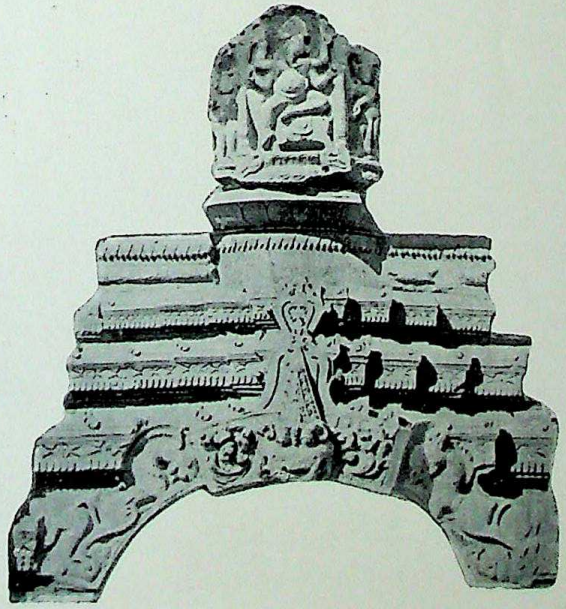


5. Kambojanvaya King's Plllar, Dinajpur Rajbari.



6. Inscription on Kambojanvaya King's Pillar, Dinajpur Rajbari.

7. Stone Bull, Collectorate, Dinajpur.



8. Kirtimukh, Temple at Namkan, Rajshahi Dt.

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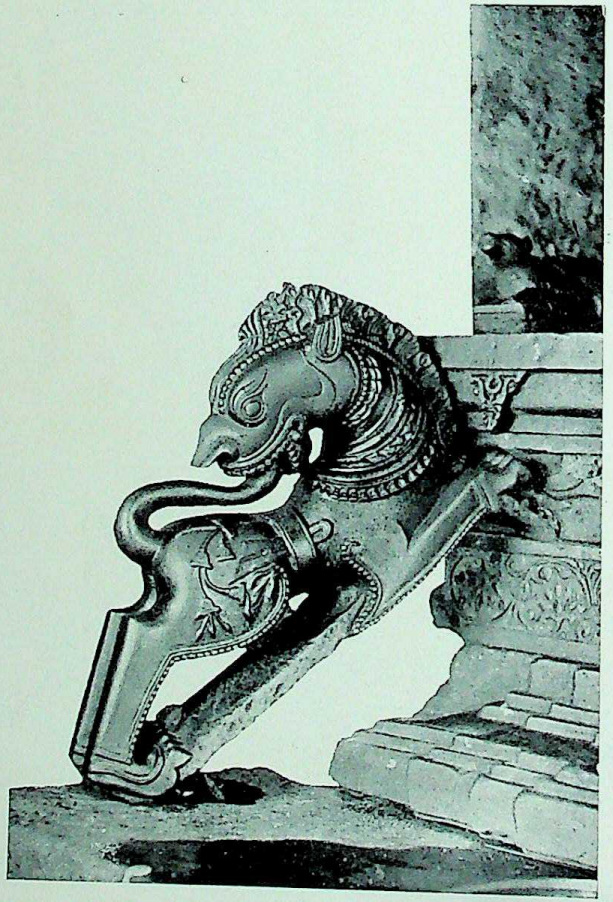
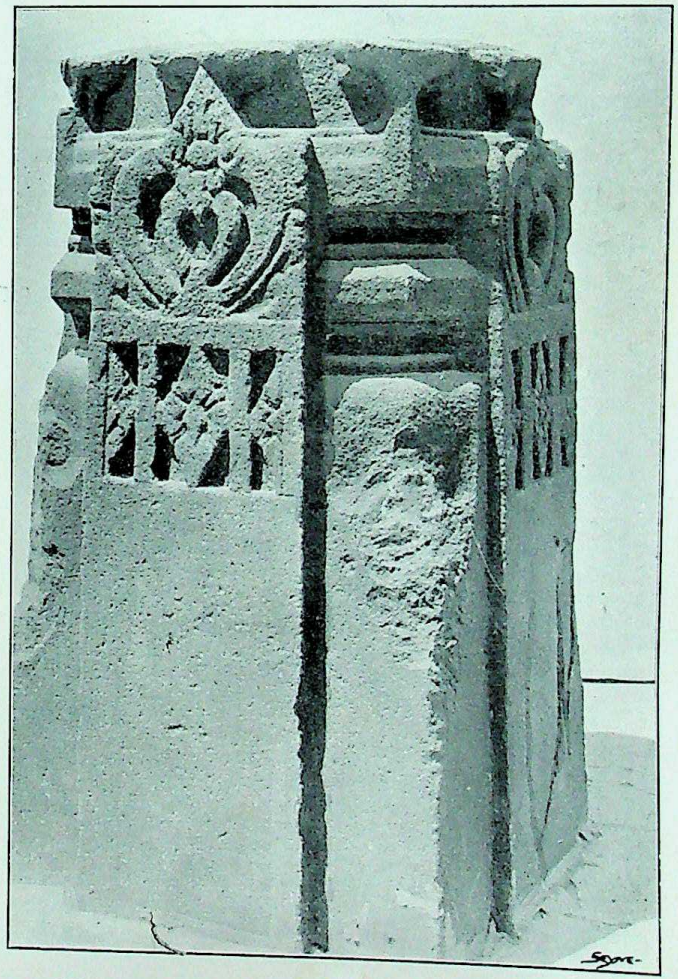
BANGARH ANTIQUITIES.



9. Lion Strut, temple at Namkan, Rajshahi Dt.



10. Pillar Base, V. R. S. Museum, Rajshahi.

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TEPA COLLECTION, RANCHI.
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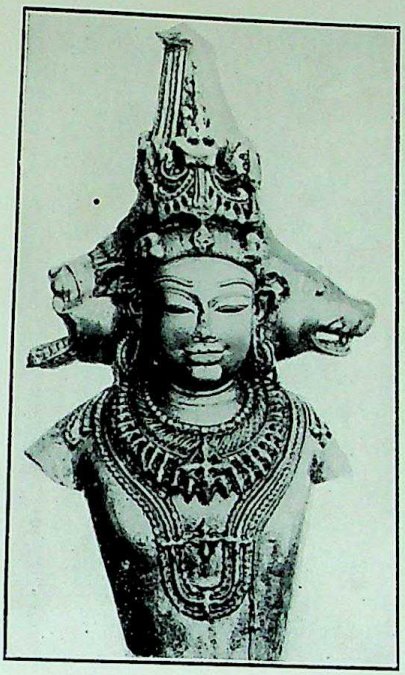

1. Four-headed Vishnu, front.

2. Four-headed Vishnu, back.

3. Vishnu.

4. Sasha-Sayi Vishnu.

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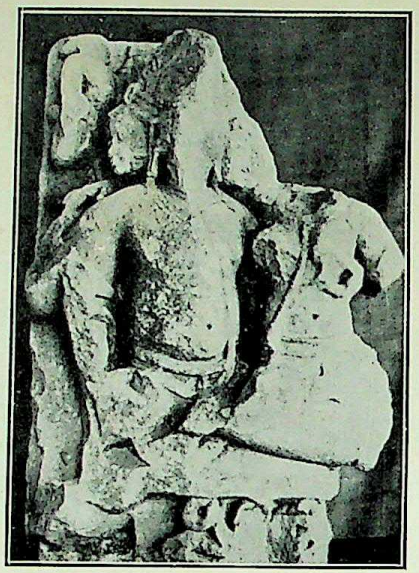
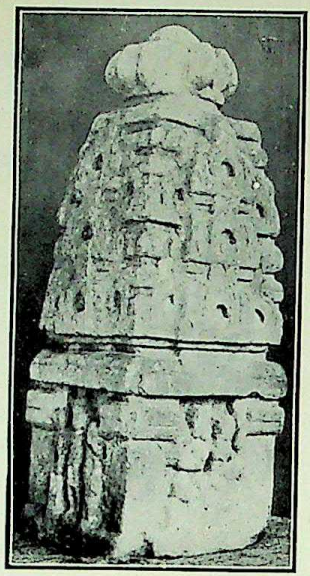


5. Uma-Mahesvara.



6. Votive Temple.

RANGPUR SAHITYA-PARISAD COLLECTION.

1. Miniature Vishnu.

2. Manasa.

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the east. This heap must be of the ruins of a temple, as Buchanan suggests; a few architectural fragments are still lying about. It is said that here Bana performed his austerities to win the favour of Siva. In course of re-excavating an old tank, to the north of Tapandighi, a copper-plate inscription of King Lakshmanasena was discovered in 1873. It purports to have been issued from Vikrampura, to grant some land in the village of Belahishti, in Varendri, in the *bhukti* of Pundravarddhana (Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 99ff).

Dinajpur

A lot of sculptured stones were removed from Bangarh to the palace of the Maharaja of Dinajpur by Maharaja Ramnath in the eighteenth century. The best known of them—the *inscribed pillar* of the Kamboja king—has already been referred to. There was a long controversy about its date. Some scholars would ascribe it to the Saka year 888 (*J. P. A. S. B.*, N. S., Vol. VII, pp. 615 ff). After examining the sculpture carefully, I found that the stylistic evidence raises a difficulty against this assumption. A detailed discussion of this question I leave for the present to a future occasion. Of interest is also the *votive temple* (*sailagandha-kuti*) of Yasanara, inscribed in characters of about the twelfth century. This miniature is carved out of a single block of stone and contains, on four sides, four standing figures of Buddha, representing four of the chief events of his life. It may be compared with the temple of Brahma (No. 230) in our Museum. The pillars on either side of the entrances to our compound are modelled on it. The *Garuda-pillar*, standing in the court-yard of the temple of Kaliya-kanta is a fine sculpture. It is crowned by two figures of Garuda, sitting addorsed. There are some carved gateways, which have been used in the modern buildings of the palace, where they look sadly out of place. The finest of these is the *Naga-dvar* an enormous door-frame, 9 ft. 7 in. high: the jambs are divided into four compartments, wrought with dainty scroll-works of foliage and serpent-tail designs combined with other elaborate motifs; on the lintel are figurines of four Naginis in the attitude of dancing, a pair at the centre and one at each end. At the base of the jambs of another doorway, there are figures of Lakshmi and Sarasvati, standing cross-legged, with their respective attributes, the lotus and the *vina* (lyre) in their hands. Another gateway displays Muhammadan diaper designs. Some broken monoliths and an image of *an eight-armed goddess* are deposited on the bank of a tank,

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in front of the palace-garden. The goddess is seated on a wicker-stool, between two female attendants, one of whom carries bell and incense-pot, the other, a flywhisk (for further information see, *A. S. I.*, *Ann. Rep.*, 1921-22, pp. 83-84, and 1925-26, pp. 113-114). This society, too, has in its collection two pillars from Bangarh (Nos. 64 and 69), one of which exhibits a novel type.. These were collected by Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray, when he visited the ruins with a party of members of this society. An image of Bhairava, which they were unable to collect has, I understand, now found its way to the Indian Museum. A few sculptnres from Bangarh were taken by one of Maharaja Ramnath's officers, Jivan Brahmachari and built into a temple in his family residence at Namkan, Rajshahi Dist. A stone Bull recovered from a tank at Bangarh by Buchanan Hamilton's Pandit is set up in the Collectorate at Dinajpur. Some of these antiquities are illustrated in the accompanying Plates.

Rangpur

Sahitya-Parishad Collection :—Having thus taken stock of the antiquities in the palace of the Dinajpur Raj, we came to the town of Rangpur. The example set by this Society and the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad of Calcutta, in the way of collection of antiquities, has happily been followed in other parts of the province ; some institutions and even individuals have built up collections of various size and value. One of them is that of the Rangpur Sahitya Parishad, which is now housed in a spacious building and includes some fifty sculptures, a number of manuscripts and a fairly representative cabinet of coins. In my note on the 'Additions to the V. R. S. Museum', 1929-30, I have referred to a miniature *Vishnu* in this collection. It resembles No. 500 of our Museum, but is of a more refined workmanship. I noticed also a *Manasa* of a rare type which is unrepresented in our Museum. She is four-armed, with boughs in the upper hands and a child and some small object respectively in the lower right and left hands (see Plate). A miniature Manasa with a child was found last year in the Pahapur excavations (for the *dhyana*, see Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, p. 227).

Tepa collection :—A number of sculptures has been collected by Mr. Nalinimohan Ray Chaudhuri, Zamindar of Tepa, at his residence, at Rangpur. Most of them, I hear, are obtained from Benares and its neighbourhood. A unique specimen in this collection is a *four-headed bust of Vishnu* (18″ high), carved in the round, dating from about the twelfth century. The central face is human, the right and left heads are respectively those of a lion (Nara-simha)

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and boar (Varaha), while that at the back bears the cognisances of Bhairava: gaping mouth, prominent teeth, scowling brows, beards and whiskers and a high dressed matted hair. This image has already been noticed by Mr. B. C. Bhattacharya on p. 8 of his *Indian Images*, pt. I, where the *dhyana* has also been quoted (cf. also *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, No. 104, 1919, p. 60). Another *Vishnu* image (18″×19″) in this collection is of eighth century. In it Vishnu wears a cap-like crown, a *dhoti*, a scarf, a garland of 'forest flowers' (*vanamala*) and usual jewellery. He is four-armed: the two upper hands and their attributes are broken; the lower hands rest on the heads of two kneeling Ayudha-purushas, Chakra and Gada, respectively, to proper right and left. On the reverse face of the slab, there is an image of *Surya*, with his two attendants Dandi and Pingala. Other notable images are: *Sesha-sayi Vishnu* (11″ × 8″), *Uma-Mahesvara* (16″ high) and *Karttikeya* (19″ × 24″). In the Uma-Mahesvara image, Siva is three-headed. In the last image, Karttikeya sits on a cushion in the *lalita* pose, with his left leg, resting on a peacock's back. All above his waist is gone. The image may be dated in the eleventh century. Besides the above, the collection includes a *miniature temple* (5″ × 8″ × 7″), carved with figures of Siva-linga, Vishnu, Hara-Gauri and Surya on its four sides (see Plates).

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IV

The Vaishnava Cult.

Syamacharan Chakravarti, M.A., Sankhyasastai.

Vishnu and Vasudeva-Krishna

Vishnu plays a very prominent part in the pantheon of the *Rig-Veda*. The word Vishnu comes from the root *vis*, which has two meanings, *viz.*, entering and pervading. Both these meanings have been accepted by later theologians, who say that the God is so called because he has created all and entered into them. This interpretation is supported also by the *Taittiriya Upanishad* (II.6). The second meaning makes Him the Supreme God who pervades the whole universe, as indicated in a hymn of the *Rig-Veda* (I. 22. 18., Prasanna Vidyaratna's Ed. Cal.) This represents him as taking three strides to encompass the world. Another hymn (I. 22. 17) describes Vishnu as traversing the universe with three strides and says that the earth is sustained by the dust of his feet. Durga, in explaining this passage in his Commentary on the *Nirukta* (XII. 2) identifies him with the Sun and interprets his traversing of the universe with three strides as the diffusion of sun-light, in its three stages, corresponding to the three divisions of a day, *viz.*, morning, noon and evening. These hymns have supplied the basis on which the story of the Dwarf incarnation of Vishnu is formed. The *Satapatha Brahmana* (11. 3. 5) makes him assume the form of a Dwarf for measuring the sacrificial ground which the gods were to receive from the demons. It also states that the gods were not angry with him for diminishing his form, because he was himself the sacrifice (1. 2. 13). According to the *Gita* (VIII. 4), the presiding deity of sacrifice is Vasudeva-Krishna. In the *Mahabharata*, (1. 1. 197), the blind king bewails that he did not expect victory when he heard that his sons had to fight with Krishna, who covered this earth with a single stride. On account of having taken these three strides, Vishnu is called Trivikrama in later dictionaries (Amara, *Nama-linganusasana*, I. 20). Thus it is clear that Vishnu of the *Rig-Veda* is identified in the epic with Vasudeva-Krishna.

Narayana

The 'Purushasukta' of the 10th Mandala of the *Rig-Veda* is attributed to Narayana Rishi. This Purusha and Narayana seem to be identical. The

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Satapatha Brahmana describes Vishnu as covering this Earth, the air and the sky by his three strides (I. 2. 13) and has placed Purusha-Narayana in all the worlds, in all the gods, in all the Vedas and in all vital airs (XII. 3. 4.). The *Tatti-Aranyaka* (X. 11) attributes all the qualities of the Supreme Soul to Narayana and makes him supreme above all like the great Brahman. The *Chhandogya* (I. 6. 6.) mentions a Purusha in the solar disc, whose hair, beard and body are made of gold, and whose colour is as red as the back portion of a monkey. He who worships him is freed from all sins. Here, the red colour of the morning and evening Sun, which is like the back-portion of a monkey, is indicated. Sankaracharya identifies this Purusha with the Supreme Brahman, to whom *Aisvarya* or super-natural powers are attributed for the convenience of *upasana* or worship (*Brahma-sutra*, I. 1. 20) The stone-symbol of Narayana, which is yet an object of worship, appears to be a symbolic representation of the Purusha in the solar disc, in as much as the *dhyana* of the god, worshipped on that symbol, corresponds to that of the solar Purusha. This *dhyana* describes the god as seated in the solar orb, with his body made of gold. The conception of the golden colour is derived probably from the golden rays of the Sun. The wheel or circular mark on the body of the stone-symbol (*Narayana-chakra*) perhaps represents the disc of the Sun. Vishnu of the Vedic hymn, covering the universe with his three strides, has already been shown to be the same as the Sun, diffusing its light on all created things. Vishnu is thus the presiding deity of the solar region and is worshipped as Narayana on the stone-symbol. So Vishnu and Narayana are identical. Narayana is also identified with Vasudeva-Krishna in the *Mahabharata* (Santi, 338, 4).

In the *Mahabharata* (Santi, 335. 7-8) is told the story of Narada, who went to Svetadvipa (White-Island), situated to the north of the Milk-Ocean. There he offered prayer to Narayana, the Supreme god, who became visible to him and showed him his all-pervading form (Santi, 338-39). It is said that Svetadvipa may be attained by those only who recite the praise of Ananta, composed by Bali (*Harivamsa*, V. 14384). In the *Bhagavata Purana*, Svetadvipa-pati (the lord of White Island) is said to be a name of Vishnu (X. 6. 24). The story of Narada going to the White Island is no doubt an allegory. Svetadvipa is probably the Solar region which is the abode of Narayana, and, it seems to be so called because of the white light of the Sun. Narayana, who resides in the White Island is said to be the same as Hari and Janardana (Santi, 335. 17. 21). Thus the idea of the White Island as the abode of Narayana appears to have preceded the conception of Vaikuntha being the abode of Hari or Vasudeva. In the

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later Puranas, Vaikuntha has been replaced by Golaka of Balakrishna. *Nārā* or water is the first creation of God (Manu, 1. 8). Narayana is so called because the first creation, *Nārā*, evolves from him (Manu, I. 10). At the end of the cycle of creation, everything disappears except water, and at the time of creation, it is water which first comes out. So water is the *sesha* or the ultimate cause which is the abode of Hari. It is *ananta* or boundless. So the boundless abode of Narayana is the solar region, which looks like a milky ocean, on account of its white light. The White Island, therefore, is neither Syria nor any land of the Trans-Jordian region.

Ekantika Dharma.

In the same epic, Narayana, the eternal soul of the universe, with four forms, has been represented as Dharma. The four forms or four sons are Nara, Narayana, Hari and Krishna (Santi, 334. 8-9). The two heroes Vasudeva and Arjuna are said to be the same as Nara and Narayana. The people of the White Island are described as Ekantinas (Santi, 347. 30). These Ekantinas are devotees of Hari and they attain the highest region (Santi, 348. 3). Their *dharma*, the religion which Narada got from Narayana at the White Island, is Ekantika Dharma. It is the religion of the Satvatas and said to be the same as was communicated in the *Hari Gita* by Vasudeva to Arjuna (Santi, 346. 11). It is also mentioned that the religion of the Satvatas is in keeping with the teachings of the Aranyakas, which also include the Upanishads. So it is neither un-Vedic nor un-Brahmanical, as has been supposed by some scholars.

The story of Narada may be a myth but it shows unmistakably the Brahmanical origin of the religion. The epic makes *Ahimsa* or non-slaughter of animals an indispensable part of this religion (Santi, 347. 12-13). The Vedic Brahmins became disgusted with the slaughter of animals and sacrifices and diverted their mind to the meditation of Soul or Brahman. The evidence of this diversion is traceable in the cosmogonical hymns of the 10th Mandala of the *Rig-Veda* and in the earlier Upanishads. The *Satapatha Brahmana* (II. 1. 5) gives a discourse about what is eatable and what is not eatable and appears to have a predilection for non-slaughter. The *Chhandogya* (III. 17. 4). represents Ghora-Angirasa imparting lessons to his disciple Krishna-Devakiputra regarding gift, sincerity, non-slaughter and truthfulness. So non-slaughter as a part of religion has been accepted by the Rishis from very early age. The Yoga philosophy has mentioned universal Ahimsa as a glorious penance (*Sadhanapāda*, XXXI). Manu has preached *Ahimsa* as a begetter of great merit (V.

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48-56). From long before the preachings of Mahavira and Gautama, there have been two classes of teachers among the Rishis themselves. One section maintains that sacrificial slaughter like any ordinary slaughter, begets demerit. The other section enjoins that though ordinary slaughter may beget demerit, slaughter of animals in Vedic sacrifices begets merit and leads one to heaven. The Sankhya and the Yoga schools belong to the former class and the Mimansa school represents the latter. Krishna in the *Gita* takes the position of an arbiter between the two rival schools (XVIII, 3) and decides in favour of the latter (XVIII, 6), though non-slaughter of animals as a principle has been praised by him (XVI, 2). Sakyamuni, who was taught the two systems of Sankhya and Yoga before his attainment of Supreme Enlightenment, appears to have got the inspiration of *Ahimsa* from his Brahmin preceptors.

The Satvata religion is the earlier form of Vaishnavism or Vasudevism as we may call it, communicated by Vasudeva to Arjuna in the *Gita*. The scholiasts of Panini derive the word Satvata from *Sat*, *i.e.*, the supreme Soul. So Satvata means a devotee of the Supreme Soul. In the epic, Narayana is said to be worshipped according to the Satvata rites. The Satvatas were probably the worshippers of Narayana or Vasudeva, both being the same in the epic. The *Bhagavata Purana* makes the Satvatas, the Andhakas and the Vrishnis all relatives of Yudhisthira and represents Krishna as Lord of the Satvatas in several places (I. 14. 25). According to the *Harivamsa* (V. 2200) the Satvatas, the Andhakas and the Vrishnis were born of the same mother. The same work (V. 1965) ascribes to Vasudeva-Krishna the leadership of both the Andhakas and the Vrishnis. In an aphorism of Panini (IV. I. 114) the Andhakas and the Vrishnis are separately mentioned. Patanjali derives Augrasena from the Andhaka name, and, Vāsudeva and Baladeva, from the Vrishni name. Devaka and Ugrasena were brothers. Devaka was the maternal grand-father of Vasudeva-Krishna (*Harivamsa*. XX. 23-24). So the Satvatas, the Andhakas and the Vrishnis were different clans belonging to the same stock as the Yadavas, being descendants of the Vedic Yadus.

The worship of Vasudeva-Krishna has also been referred to by Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at the court of Chandragupta Maurya. His statement is that the Sourasenoi (the people of Surasena) worshipped Herakles and had in their land two cities, *viz.*, Methora and Kleisobora. Methora is identified with Mathura and Kleisobora or Krishnapura reminds one of Krishna of the epic. Herakles is supposed to be the same as Hari, *i.e.* Krishna (*M. A. S. I.*,

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No. 5, p. 157). The Mathura inscription of the time of the great satrap Sodasa, assigned to the 1st century A.D., unmistakably proves that it was the seat of the worship of Vasudeva. (*Ibid*, p. 169). From Mathura, which was the original residence of the Andhakas and the Vrishnis, they fled to Dvaraka in the Kathiawar peninsula to avoid oppression by Kala Yavana. (*Harivamsa*, vs. 1965-67).

The Pancharatra System

The rites of the Satvatas are said to be performed by those acquainted with the Pancharatra system (Santi, 335·25). So the Satvata and the Pancharatra systems appear to be related to each other. This system consists of the worship of Vasudeva and his several forms, the four Vyuhas, as mentioned in the epic (Santi, 339). According to Ramanuja, the Vyuhas are forms assumed by the *Para* or Supreme Being for the convenience of worship and for such purposes as creation etc. These forms are all supreme and have separate powers. According to this system, Vasudeva is the Supreme Being, from whom Samkarshana or individual soul comes out. From Samkarshana, Pradyumna or mind emanates, and, from him, evolves Aniruddha or *ego*. Sankara, in his commentary on the *Brahmasutra* (II. 2. 42-45), has refuted this theory, as, in his opinion, it is un-Vedic in its origin. In the epic, the epithet *Pancharatrika* has been applied to Narayana (Santi, 338, 4). Of the four Vyuhas, Samkarshana is Baladeva, the elder brother of Krishna, Pradyumna is the son of Krishna, and, Aniruddha is said to be his grand-son. The worshippers of Vasudeva and Baladeva are mentioned in the *Niddesa*, a pali Buddhist canon of the 4th century B.C. (Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious systems*, p. 3). The worshippers of Vasudeva are also mentioned in Panini's aphorism IV. 3. 98. Patanjali in his gloss on the rule has distinctly said that the word Vasudeva here refers to the god Vasudeva. Thus, Patanjali, who lived in the middle of the 2nd century B.C. knew fully well the supreme deity Vasudeva. His references to Krishna's attitude towards his maternal uncle (II. 3. 36) and to his destruction of Kamsa (III. 1. 26) show that the exploit of Krishna, who killed his maternal uncle Kamsa, was widely known in his time.

The well-known Besnagar pillar inscription supports Patanjali's interpretation of the afore-said *sutra* of Panini. In this inscription, we are told that a column, with an image of Garuda at the top, was erected in honour of Vasudeva, the god of gods, by Heliodorus, son of Dion, a *Bhagavata*, and an inhabitant of

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Taxila, who came as an ambassador from king Antialkidas to Maharaja Kasiputra Bhagabhadra. This inscription is assigned to the first half of the 2nd century B.C. Here,a foreigner is described as a *Bhagavata* or a devotee of Vasudeva, who is *deva-deva*, *i.e.*, the god of gods. The Garudadhvaja indicates that there was an image of Vasudeva within the temple, with which it was perhaps connected. Curtius states that an image of Herakles was carried in the front of the army of Porus, as he advanced against Alexander the Great (*M.A.S.I.* No. 5, p. 154). The statement of Megasthenes regarding the worship of Herakles, *i.e.*, Hari or Krishna, has already been referred to. It is thus highly probable that image of Vishnu was worshipped as early as the 4th century B.C. An inscription found at Ghosundi, in the Udaypur State, Rajputana, gives a description of a stone-enclosure, built for the worship of Bhagavatas, Sankarshana and Vasudeva, within the enclosure of Narayana (*Narayanavate*). As we have seen, Narayana is identical with Vasudeva, so *Narayanavate* may indicate the whole enclosure or compound within which the smaller enclosure of the two gods, Samkarshana and Vasudeva was built. Vasudeva and Samkarshana are mentioned as two seperate deities, the latter being mentioned first. In the Nanaghat cave inscription of the 2nd century B.C. (Luders, *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 1112) Samkarshana and Vasudeva are mentioned as two separate deities and their connection with the lunar Yadava family has been traced. In this inscription, too, the name of Samkarshana precedes that of Vasudeva. This is evidently because he was the elder brother of Vasudeva. Even in the *Bhagavata Purana*, which represents Krishna as the supreme deity, Rama is mentioned before Krishna (X. 18. 9). Panini does not give Baladeva the rank of a god, but his followers are mentioned in the Pali *Niddesa* referred to above. His worshippers are also described by Kautilya, who speaks of their sacrificial beverage (*Arthasastra*, Sastri's transl. p. 425). The mention of this sacrificial beverage reminds us of the drunkenness of Baladeva, alluded to not only in the *Puranas* but also by Kalidasa (*Meghaduta*, V. 53).

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar maintains that Vasudeva is a proper name and not a patronymic (*Loc. cit.*, p. 11). But this opinion seems to be untenable in view of Patanjali's reference to Krishna's cruelty towards his maternal uncle, which shows that in his time, Vāsudeva was believed to be the son of Vasudeva. Otherwise, his comment on Panini (IV. 3. 98), *viz.*, that in this aphorism, Vāsudeva is a name of the "Worshipful," becomes meaningless, in as much as the next *sutra* (IV. 3. 99) gives us the form Vāsudeva from Vasudeva. This interpretation is also supported by Kaiyata.

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Vasudeva was the leader of the Yadavas, though his position was sometimes compromised by the waywardness of some of the influential members of his clan (Jayaswal, *History of Hindu Polity*, p. 192). Samkarshana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha were very powerful in the clan. Vasudeva expresses his helplessness on account of the refractory conduct of these chiefs (*Santi*, 81,7). When the followers of these chiefs felt the necessity of raising their leaders to the rank of divinities, they took shelter under the holy sayings of the *Gita*. Thus Samkarshana was deified as individual *Jiva*, Pradyumna as mind and Aniruddha as *Ahankara* or *ego*. The first is the *Kshetrajna* of the *Gita* and the last two are the most important of the eight forms of the Aparaprakriti of Vasudeva mentioned in the same.

The *Lalita-vistara* (Lefmann, pp. 70, 153) represents Mara as Krishna-bandhu. This may have some connection with the fact that both in the epic and the puranas *Pradyumna or Kama* is said to be the son of Vasudeva. So, according to the Buddhists, he is not a human being, but an evil spirit with a supernatural power, The deification of the Kshatriyas as gods and demigods was not uncommon in the epic and in the puranas. Parasurama, the exterminator of the Kshatriyas is represented as an incarnation of Vishnu. Bhishma is a demigod to whom libation is offered even now. The Mora inscription of the time of the Mahakshatrapa Rajuvula indicates the worship of Vasudeva with the five Pandavas as deities. The *Gita* teaches in its tenth chapter that whatever is magnificient and extraordinary, is to be considered as an offshoot of the divine power of Vasudeva. Thus, the brother, son and grand-son of Krishna were deified by their followers and this Vyuha doctrine of the Pancharatra system was engrafted on the early Vasudevism of the Satvatas.

Later Vaishnavism.

The next stage of Vaishnavism is reached in the philosophical tenets of Ramanuja. The Vaishnava religion of the south was preached by two classes of teachers, *viz.*, the Alvars and the Acharyas. The Alvars, who were twelve in all, were practically the teachers of the masses and composed songs of devotion in their own vernacular. The Acharyas were Sanskrit scholars, of whom Ramanuja was pre-eminently the greatest. He flourished in the early part of the 11th century. His commentary on the *Vedanta-sutra* is a reply to the pure monism of Sankara. He has recognised the existence of *Jiva*, the individual soul and *Jagat*, the phenominal world, in addition to the existence of the Supreme Being, though the former two are within His divine body. So his philosophy

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is called qualified monism. His Vaishnavism is a combination of the Vasudevism of the *Gita* and the Pancharatra system He has totally ignored the name of Gopala-Krishna, which is so conspicuous in the *Bhagavata Purana.*

In refuting the critics of the Pancharatra system, Ramanuja takes his stand upon the interpretation of the *Vedanta-sutra* adopted by Baudhayana. Sankaracharyya has refuted the Pancharatra doctrine and has criticised Baudhayana in his commentary on the first sutra. Ramanuja was followed by Madhva or Anandatirtha, who lived in the first half of the 13th century. He considers *Bhagavata-Purana* as sacred as the *Mahabharata*, but remains silent on its Gopala-Krishna cult. He repudiates the pure monism of Sankara and the qualified monism of Ramanuja. He has enunciated five eternal truths, by which the Supreme God, individual soul and the phenominal world are made distinct from one another. Like Ramanuja, he locates Vishnu at Vaikuntha with Lakshmi as his divine consort.

Gopala-Krishna.

The next phase of Vaishnavism is the worship of Gopala-Krishna, as described in the *Bhagavata Purana.* Though the cult has not found any place in the philosophy of the earlier writers it was in existence in the 3rd or 4th century A. D. The *Harivamsa* and *Vishnu purana* have described his exploits and his dalliances with the cowherd girls. The *Balacharita* of Bhasa has also depicted his activities. It is difficult to trace when and where the identification of Vasudeva-Krishna with the boy-Krishna was effected. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar is inclined to establish identity between Krishna and Christ. In his opinion the Abhiras, a non-Aryan tribe who came to India probably in the 1st century A.D., brought with them the worship of the boy-god and the story of his humble birth, his father's knowledge that he was not his son and "the massacre of the innocents" (Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism, Saivism and minor religious systems*, p. 37). Some of these incidents have similarities with the life-story of the boy-Krishna, but in the absence of any historical evidence, the similarity may be considered accidental, and the theory of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has already been proved to be unteneable (Chanda, *Indo Aryan Races*, pp. 84 ff, also, *Ind. Ant*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 35-36). The story of the birth of Krishna and his subsequent removal to the custody of Nandagopa is mentioned also in the Buddhist *Ghatajataka.* (Fausboll, Vol. IV, No. 454).

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Radha-Krishna.

With the introduction of the *Bhagavata Purana*, the story of the boy-Krishna and his amorous overtures to the cowherd girls assumed a new shape. So long he was represented as associating with the cowherd girls in general. Now one cowherd girl is made his *pradhānā* or chief consort. But the earliest mention of Radha as his chief consort is found in the *Brahmavaivartta Purana*, whose date is uncertain. She occupies a prominent place in the *Gita-govinda* of Jayadeva, who was a contemporary of king Lakshmanasena, who lived in the latter part of the 12th century. Nimbarka was the first to give a philosophical exposition to the Radha-Krishna cult. He appears to be posterior to Anandatirtha, as his name is not found in the collection of philosophical works of Madhava, who lived in the middle of the 14th century. He was a Tailanga by birth and spent the latter part of his life at Vrindavana, where boy-Krishna is said to have spent his early life. His Vedantic theory is a modification of the qualified monism of Ramanuja. The inanimate world, the individual soul and God, according to him are distinct from one another as well as identical. The first two are identical with God in this sense, that they have no independent existence, but are dependent on him for their existence and action. But this cult did not receive much support from other Vaishnava preachers, such as Kabir, Ramananda and Tukaram. In Bengal the Radha cult got a greater impetus in the songs of Vidyapati and Chandidas. The preachers who elaborated exclusively the Bhakti cult of the *Bhagavata*, were Vallabha in the south and Chaitanya in Bengal, in the first half of the 16th century. Vallabhacharyya was a married man. The descendants of his seven grand-sons are now called Gurus. Chaitanya was a Sanyasi teacher. His ideas have been elaborated by his devotees known as Gosvamis in Bengal. He has been deified as god and is believed to be an embodiment of Radha and Krishna. The worship of God as a human being, giving him ease and comfort like an ordinary man, seems to be one of the principal daily practices of this sect.

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